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CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE

HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

Part I.

INSCRIPTIONS.

BY

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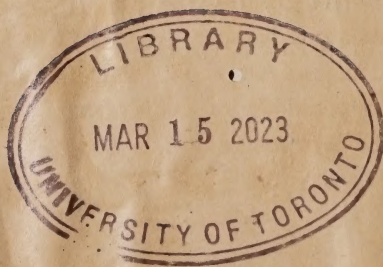
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PREFACE.

It is my intention to publish, in future, inscriptions which bear on the history of this country. It is hardly necessary at this moment, when so much stress is laid on the acquisition and explanation of inscriptions, to enlarge on their importance. On the other hand it appears to me desirable that more attention should be paid to the ancient Vernacular literature of South India, as many facts of great historical value might be gleaned from its now neglected pages.

Moreover an alphabetically arranged list of *all* the places in India prepared on the model of *Ritter's geographisch-statistisches Lexikon* is a great desideratum. With the material available in the Census, Revenue and Topographical Survey Offices, such a compilation would offer no great practical difficulty, and, when finished, would prove a work of permanent value.

The compilation of inscriptions and the description of archæological remains once completed—which work, however necessary and valuable, marks after all only a preparatory stage in historical science—the duty of explaining and elucidating them falls to the share of the historical linguist. The more he is acquainted with Sanskrit and the Vernaculars the more satisfactorily will he be able to carry on his researches, but as it is impossible for any one, even for a native of India, to master equally well all the different languages prevailing in the peninsula of India, he will do well to avail himself of the services of native proficientes,

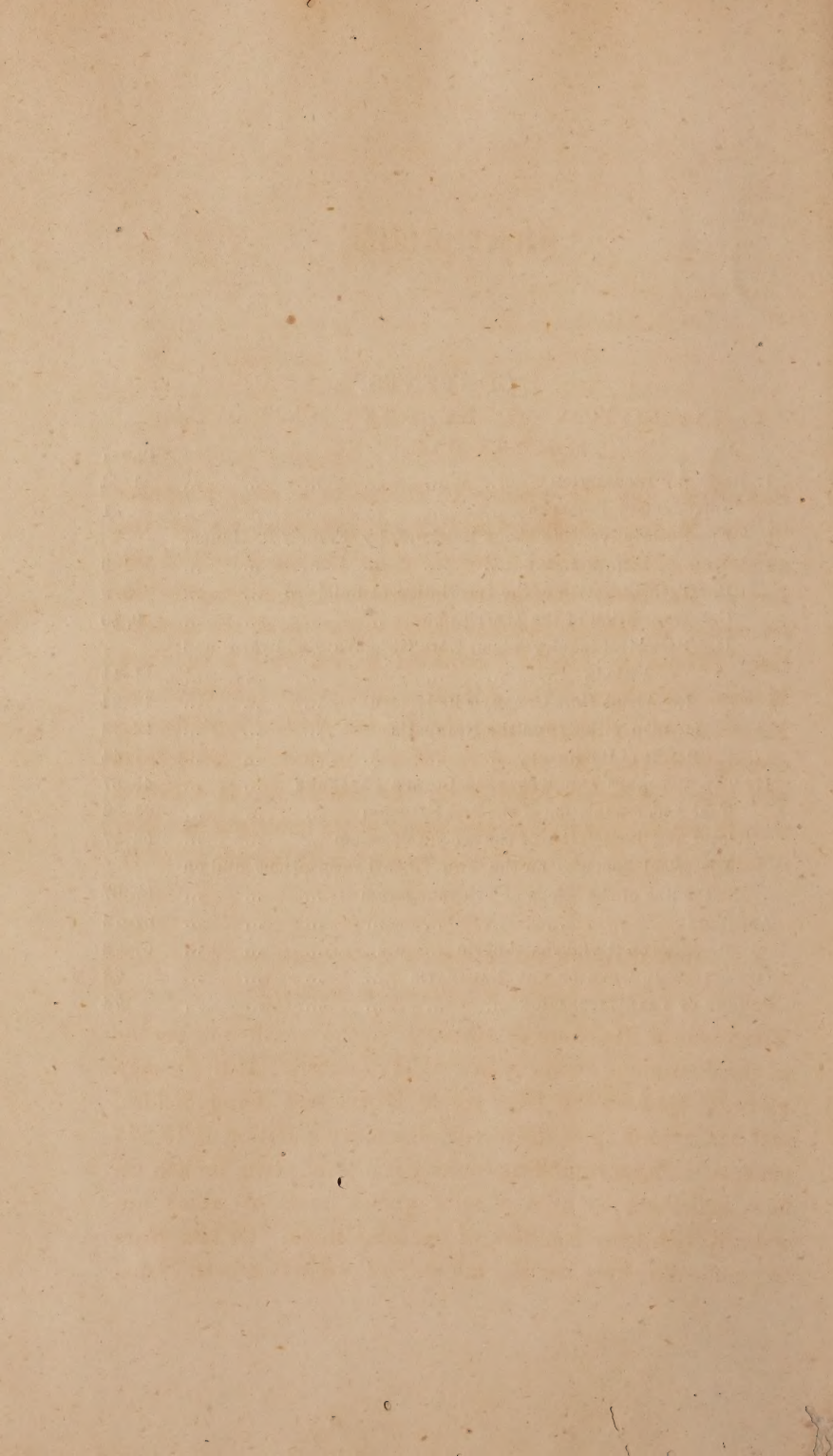
who, under a judicious control, will render the most essential assistance. If for this purpose local archæological committees were formed, connected with a central institution in the Presidency town, a great future would be in store for a scientific investigation of Indian history.

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE,
24th July 1882.

GUSTAV OPPERT.

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Inscriptions.

I.

I.—INSCRIPTION ON THE INNER WALL OF THE FORT AT RAICHORE.

SOME time ago Mr. Francis B. Hanna, M.A., M.E., Engineer to the Madras Railway at Bellary, informed me of the existence of an ancient inscription on the inner wall of the fort at Raichore. Being an experienced photographer he succeeded in taking two successful negatives of the inscription. These he kindly forwarded to me, and from them Messrs. Nicholas and Co. of Madras have printed the positives. Moreover at my suggestion Mr. Hanna wrote the following descriptive note (A) about the Raichore fort, which I trust will prove of much interest to the reader. In B I give a transliteration, and in C a translation of the inscription, which is followed by an historical inquiry contained further on in D.

A.

DESCRIPTIVE NOTE ABOUT RAICHORE FORT.

Contributed by Mr. FRANCIS B. HANNA.

THE town of Raichore is situated in the south-west corner of the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad. It lies nearly midway between the large rivers Kistna and Tungabhadra, and has, according to the recent census, a population of 13,575 persons. The surrounding country is a level plain, broken up here and there by hills of solid gneiss, most of which are covered with loose boulders of the same stone. Of late years the name Raichore has become well known in Southern India,

as the main lines of railway from Bombay and Madras form their junction at this station; but beyond this few Europeans know much about the place.

The old fort, however, presents a striking appearance, even to the casual observer who sees it from a passing train, and is well worthy of description. Its general form resembles a square, with the southern corners rounded off, and the south and east sides curved outwards. Three sides of this square are defended by a high stone wall, strengthened by a number of substantial bastions, and surrounded by a moat; whilst a steep isolated rock, rising 290 feet above the plain and protected by a double line of fortifications and the moat, forms an appropriate boundary on the south. The outer wall passes close round the southern base of this rocky hill, but encloses on the northern side a strip of level ground about 1,000 yards long from east to west, and 600 yards wide, on which a part of the present town is built. Within this first line of defence a second wall is found, which, passing round the south of the hill about half way up the rock, encloses on the north a square piece of level land having an area of about 50 acres.

On the west side the two walls are very nearly parallel and about 150 yards apart; this space is now waste land marked by the signs of ruined dwellings. The interval between the eastern walls is twice as great, and is covered with houses, whilst a large part of the present town lies still further to the east. From this it is plain that the town has had a gradual tendency to extend eastwards; for the inscription shown in the accompanying photograph proves that the inner wall was built 300 years before the outer, and it seems fair to infer that when the outer wall was built it enclosed all that part of the town which then lay outside the original limits.

The age of the outer wall is definitely fixed by the dates on a number of stone tablets which are built into niches in

the interior of several of the bastions. These inscriptions are in Persian and Arabic characters, beautifully cut in a hard stone resembling in appearance a dark-green slate. The dates on four of these stones are 971, 1000, 1018 and 1029 Hijri, which correspond to 1563, 1591, 1609 and 1619 of our era. The following is a translation of the inscription on the stone, which was till lately in the north wall of Hanuman's bastion, but which, it is much to be regretted, has recently been removed and sent to Gulburgah.

“By the grace of God and that of Mohammed, our Redeemer, this building was completed. The erection of the building began in the time of the noble Ibrahim Adil Shah. The Agent Malik Yakub, with the assistance of Malik Reham Sahib, commenced its erection. This building was completed and has since become twice holy; it always faces the Kiblah. It dates from 1018, and is held in as high estimation as the constellation of the twins.”

The other inscriptions are of a similar character. Hanuman's bastion stands in the middle of the western wall, and can easily be identified by means of an old tree growing in the centre. It has a few rude figures of elephants and monkeys on some of the stones, which were probably taken from some Hindu well or temple, as Mahomedans never carved figures of animals on their buildings. This may account for the Hindu name. At the north-east corner of the outer fortification is a gateway and courtyard with some Hindu carvings, but these are of little importance. Most of them are badly designed and roughly executed, the best being a slab on the southern side, representing a king attended by dancing girls, who have their hair tied up in most elaborate chignons. The wall of the outer line of fortification is built in two parts, one of 18 to 20 feet rising from the bottom of the moat up to an external pathway 10 feet wide, which is protected by a parapet; and the other part

of about the same height, reaching from the pathway to the top of the wall. That part of the wall which is above the general level of the ground is backed with a mound of earth, faced with stone on the inner side, the whole forming a solid mass which varies from 20 to 40 feet in thickness. The masonry is substantial, but the stones are too square on the face for first-class work, and little or no attention was paid to the breaking of joint; consequently an unbroken line of joints often runs vertically down five or six consecutive courses. The walls are built in 18-inch courses of stone set in mud and pointed with mortar on the face. In some parts battlements loop-holed for musketry still remain; these are chiefly found on the southern side.

The inner wall is quite different in style. It is constructed of large blocks of gneiss, many of which are over 12 feet long and weigh upwards of 10 tons each; whilst a few specially large stones are more than twice this weight. For instance, at the north-east corner, one stone measures 13 feet 6 inches, by 5 feet, by 4 feet 6 inches; and the one above it 11 feet 6 inches, by 5 feet, by 4 feet. No mortar is used in this wall, and one of the most striking peculiarities of the masonry is that in many places the top of a course was left curved and uneven, and the stones of the course above were cut so as to follow this irregular outline. Such a method must have entailed an enormous waste of labour, as the close joints could only have been obtained after a tentative process of fitting, which must have been a very tedious work when such large stones had to be lifted. As an example of this class of work the following instance may be mentioned:—

	FT.	IN.	FT.	IN.	FT.	IN.	FT.	IN.
Length from end of stone ..	3	0	5	0	7	4	11	10
Corresponding depth ..	} 3 5		{ 3 7 4 2½		4 3		3 9	

Here, it will be seen, there is a sudden dip of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches at 5 feet from one end, to fit a joint in the course below where the two adjoining stones differ that much in height. An example of another class is a coffin-shaped stone, the length of which is 11 feet 2 inches; the depths at the ends 3 feet 3 inches, and 3 feet 4 inches; and the depth at $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from one end 4 feet 3 inches. These examples are from the north and east walls, where the joints are much closer than on the western side. A correct idea of the class of work may be formed from that portion of the photograph which is below the inscription. Such open joints as those which are seen above the large stone are quite exceptional. In this wall great attention has been paid to bonding, and breaking of joint; the stones being generally placed as headers and stretchers alternately, like the class of brickwork known as "Flemish bond." The inner wall is 18 feet high, and 17 feet thick, including the earthwork backing and stone-facing on the inside. Its general line is broken up by a series of square projections placed 40 yards apart; each of these stands out 20 feet from the face of the wall, and forms an external buttress 15 yards wide. The old Hindu wall seems only to have extended to the northern slope of the hill. At this point the character of both the east and west walls suddenly changes and becomes similar to that of the outer fortifications, so that it would appear that the southern part of the inner line was built by the Mahomedans at a comparatively recent date.

On the top of the hill there is a walled enclosure of irregular shape, 40 yards long, and 40 yards wide. This is entered by a gateway on the southern side. To the left of the entrance is a covered building 11 yards long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards high, which is divided into five chambers in each of which is a little grave surmounted by strings of glass bangles and other children's ornaments. Opposite the centre chamber is a larger grave covered only by the Neem tree growing beside

it. These are said to be the graves of Begum Punchbee and her five daughters. Opposite the gateway is a miniature masjid 10 feet square, and 15 feet high, with carved stone minarets. Alongside this is a house the main room of which is divided by pillars into six spaces about 9 feet square, each of which is covered by a small dome. On the northern side there is a similar dome over a little chamber which projects like a bay window from the rest of the room. This has windows on three sides and commands a fine view of the fort and town in the plain below. The roof of the house is surrounded by a parapet loop-holed for musketry, and was approached by an external staircase on the west side, part of which has fallen down. At the north-east angle of the enclosure stands a curious little building only $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, and 8 feet high, which consists of a dome supported by four stone pillars. The two northern pillars are of the same pattern; the other two are of a plainer design, and are different from each other. The inside of the dome is plastered, and ornamented with scrolls and flower borders such as are usually seen on Mahomedan buildings. In the centre of the enclosure there is a masonry tank for holding water, which measures 10 yards square on the outside, and stands 5 feet above the level of the ground. To the south of this is a circular mound faced with stone, in the centre of which an old cannon is mounted. The breech has been blown away just below the touch-hole, so the construction of the gun can be well seen. It is made of twelve longitudinal iron bars each about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches square, surrounded by three wrought-iron coils. The inner coil is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, the middle and outer coils each $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The outer coil only extends for 2 feet 7 inches from the broken end, and is finished off with an ornamental border. The gun as it now stands is 20 feet 4 inches long. Its external circumference near the muzzle is 3 feet, at the trunnions $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet, and at the breech 4 feet 2 inches. Four pairs of eyes for slinging the cannon by means of ropes

are placed at 2, 7, 13, and 19 feet, respectively, from the muzzle; the trunnions are at $10\frac{1}{4}$ feet. Just in front of the trunnions there is a $\cap$ shaped projection that fits on a wrought-iron cross bar $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, which bar itself passes through the two arms of a $\vee$ shaped support that is built into the masonry base. There is another broken gun of similar construction in one of the bastions on the north wall of the fort.

In the middle of the western side of the inner wall stands a gateway, a few yards to the south of which is the large stone bearing the Telugu inscription. This stone is a curiosity in itself, being a block of gneiss 41 feet 5 inches long, and over 3 feet deep. Its lower side is 7 feet above the ground, and near one end is a large triangular projection which fits into a corresponding hollow in the course below. The inscription is 13 feet long, and 2 feet deep. It consists of ten lines in old Telugu characters which were so much worn by age that they had to be carefully coloured before a legible photograph could be obtained. The Telugu language is commonly spoken in Raichore, yet, strange to say, no one could be found who could read the inscription until the photograph was sent to Dr. Oppert of Madras. On the right-hand side of the inscription is a carving of Ganapati, and at the northern end there is a standing figure of some other Hindu deity. Both these are very much defaced, all the projecting portions having been knocked off, most probably by Mahomedan iconoclasts. A little further down the wall will be found some rude carvings which illustrate the way the big stone was conveyed to its present site. It is represented loaded in a four-wheeled cart drawn by several pairs of buffaloes. The stone is in an inclined position, the front part projecting over the heads of the buffaloes next the cart. One man sitting on the front of the stone is brandishing a whip and holding the reins; another in the middle, and a third at the end of the stone are encouraging the group of people who

are pushing at the back of the cart and helping to move the wheels by means of a large lever. On the next stone six carts decorated with flags are represented, each cart being drawn by one pair of bulls.

B.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE INSCRIPTION.

- Svasti samastagunaganākāra satyaratnākāra saujanya-
 rava ādigandabhairava sāhasōttuṅga kākatiyakatakasamīnāha
 viracitaranōtsāha kuḍupalūripuravarādhīśvara vīralakṣmī-
 nijēśvara hasulukulakamalamārtāṇḍa kadanapracāṇḍa mīsa-
 5 gaṇḍa ubhayabalagaṇḍa gaṇḍaragaṇḍa abhaṅga gaṇḍabhēr-
 uṇḍa haḡibaragaṇḍa haḡimuvaragaṇḍa lāḡakunarapeṇḡāra
 ēkajagadēkavira kāntikāṛakalāmauḡi santatōjvala śasīmauḡini-
 jayanta duṣṭaturagarēkhārēvanta samarasamayadurdharavī-
 rāvatārārisadiyelitalagoṇḡugaṇḡa uppulasōmanitalagoṇḡu-
 10 gaṇḡa gaṇḡibhūpālunitalagoṇḡugaṇḡa lakkināyakunitala-
 goṇḡugaṇḡa yedīpalikācēyanākuniśīrakhaṇḡa kaṇḡūrikēśinā-
 yīnitalagoṇḡagaṇḡa apārabhīmanīrdhūmadhāmanīrupama-
 saṅgrāmarāma tēṛālakāḡadēśāpattanīruvatōṇḡagōḡdhūmapaṭ-
 ṭanapurattacīrabēlākināyīnīśāhaṇāpaharaṇa sahaḡakrauryā-

The letters in italic print are not in the text. Spelling mistakes occur in the inscription.

Line 2, *sāhasōttuṅga*. This expression is in Local Records XIII, p. 162, l. 5, an epithet of the king Anantapāladaṇḡa.

Line 4, *hasulu*, denotes the Hoysala kings.

Line 5, *gaṇḡaragaṇḡa*. In the preface to the Bālabhāḡavatam, p. 14, l. 2, Pāpa-
 timmarāja is called gaṇḡaragaṇḡa, and in the Rāmarājīyam, p. 2, l. 13
 the Cālukya Nārāyaṇa is called dharaṇīvarāhagaṇḡaragaṇḡa. Compare
 also p. 26.

Line 6, *haḡimuvaragaṇḡa*. In the Rāmarājīyam, p. 2, l. 12, the Cālukya Nāra-
 yaṇa is called hattumūvaragaṇḡa. See also *hattibbaragaṇḡa* on p. 31.

Line 6, *lāḡakunarapeṇḡāra*. In the preface to the Bālabhāḡavatam, p. 6, l. 7
 Timmarāja is called Gaṇḡapeṇḡāra.

Line 7, *kāntikāṛakalāmauḡi*. With this expression compare *Tirumalarāya-
 mauḡi* in Bālabhāḡavatam, sl. 121.

Line 10, *lakkināyakuni*. See p. 13 and p. 36.

Line 11, *kācēyanākuniśīrakhaṇḡa*. According to the preface to the Bālabhāḡa-
 vatam Rāmarāja, son of Bukkarāya, conquered the Kācadhīśa of
 Āḡavēni (Āḡōni) see p. 27—*Kaṇḡūrikesīnāyīni*, see p. 13.

- 15 bharana kōṭapimmādirāyakanṭhābharanabhūrikāra jōḍa-
 oḍaya paṭṭasūtraturāṅgaprahāra rudradēvadakṣiṇasubhadaṇ-
 ḍa nijakīrtipūritabrahmaṇḍakaraṇḍa paribalōḍḍaṇḍa śrīsōma-
 nāthadēvadivyaśrīpādapadmārādhaka parabalasādhaka sāmā-
 disamastaprasastisahitam śrīmatu misiyaragaṇḍa gōregaṅga-
 20 yaraddivāru poddamānapuramanandu sukhasaṅkathāvinō-
 dambuna prṭhuvīrājyamam sēyacumnunḍagānu tadrājya-
 rakṣāmaṇi ayina śrīnārāyaṇadēvadivyaśrīpādapadmārādhaka
 sakalajanapratipālaka parabalasādhaka sakaladayasādhaka
 punyaguṇasanātha viṭhālanātha bhūnāthaṇḍu ādavanitumbu-
 25 kamu māgudahāluva durgālu sādhiñci tadanantarambu rācū-
 ripaṭṭanapaṭiśābhimukhuṇḍai sukhasaṅkathāvinōdambuna
 prṭhuvīrājyam seyucumnunḍi śakavarṣambulu 1216 agu
 jaya samvatsara mārgasīra śudda 10 ra nandu sarvarāṣṭra-
 samastaprajārakṣaṇārtham jerilādurgavam racayiñcenu—
 30 maṅgala mahā—śrī śrī śrī.

C.

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION.

HAIL ! while he who is the embodiment of all good qualities, a jewel mine of truth, who possesses dignity and generosity, the most formidable of ancient heroes, passionate in daring, who is the mail of the city of the Kākatiyas, whose prowess in battle is established, the sovereign of the excellent town Kuḍupalūru, the own consort of the Goddess of heroism, the sun to the lotus of the Hasulu family, who is fierce in war, an excellent hero, the most eminent of the two armies, the hero of heroes, who is invincible, like a Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa, superior to his enemies, the conqueror of thirteen, who wears an anklet on which are the pictures of the heads of the defeated Lāḍakas, the only hero of the whole world, who has a shining beautiful diadem, who is always resplendent, the true charioteer of him who has the moon as his crest, who trains a line of vicious horses, who is an incarnation of a hero irresistible at the time of

Line 15, *pimmādirāya*. Compare the Rāmarājyam, p. 22, l. 6, where Hemmalirāja, the son of Tātapinna, is mentioned.

Line 16, *dakṣiṇasubhadaṇḍa*. In the *Local Records XVIII*, p. 319, l. 15 Nāgarāja, the son-in-law of Sadaśivarāya, is called dakṣiṇabhujaḍaṇḍa.

battle, the hero who cut off the heads when fighting with enemies, the hero who cut off the head of Uppulasōma, the hero who cut off the head of the king of Gaṇḍi, the hero who cut off the head of Lakkināyaka, the hero who cut off the head of Kāceyanaik of Yeḍipali, the hero who cut off the head of Kēśinaik of Kandūru, who is unequalled in his very fierce and smokeless splendour, who is like Rāma in battle, who has taken away at night the treasure of Cīrabēlākinaik the lord of the wheat-town of Toṇḍa, which is by the side of the country of Tēṇalakāḍu, who is distinguished by genuine fierceness, who distributes the necklace of Kōṭapim-māḍirāya, one who wears a coat of mail, who strikes the horses with a silken whip, who is the auspicious right-hand club of Rudradēva, with whose fame the casket-like egg-shell of Brahma is filled, who is proud of his power, who worships the holy lotus feet of the god Śrīsōmanātha, who conquers the troops of the enemy, who knows the virtues of all political measures such as conciliation, &c., while he the renowned and excellent hero Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru was administrating in Poddamānapura his kingdom on earth in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant news, the king Viṭhālanātha—who is the chief protector of his kingdom, who worships the holy lotus feet of the god Śrīnārāyaṇa, who protects all people, who conquers the troops of his enemy, who effects all sorts of kindness, who is endowed with holy qualities—having reduced the fortresses of Ādavanitumbuka and Māgu-dahāluva, having afterwards turned his face towards the spears of the city of Rācūru, while ruling his kingdom on earth in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant news, constructed for the protection of all the subjects of his entire kingdom on Sunday the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīra after the (expired) Śaka year 1216,¹ corresponding to the (present) Jaya year, the rock fortress.—Great blessing—Prosperity—prosperity—prosperity.

¹ In inscriptions the expired year of the Śaka is given together with the actual year of the sixty years' cycle; Jaya corresponds therefore with 1217.

D.

AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY ABOUT GÖRE GAṄGAYA AND
VITHALA.

The inscription on the inner wall of the fort of Rācūru (Raichore) relates to a period of Indian history which is involved in deep darkness. For the twenty years which preceded the Mahomedan conquest of the Dekkan by 'Alā-ud-dīn only a very few valuable inscriptions or other records have come down to us which elucidate these sombre pages of the chronicles of India. One need not be surprised that the conquered Hindus did not feel any inclination to commemorate these sad times, from which dates the destruction of their political ascendancy and national independence, but it is rather astonishing that the annals of the victors also contain only meager accounts of events, which laid the foundation for the sway of Islām over a great part of Southern India.

The aspect of the political affairs in the Dekkan towards the end of the thirteenth century is painful indeed. It presents a dismal picture of internecine wars, caused either by religious intolerance or by greed for territory. Nothing promoted, in fact, so much the success of the invaders as the continual dissensions among Hindu chieftains, who appealed occasionally for help to the common enemy, and who indulged in their fratricidal contests, even at a time when it ought to have been apparent to all that the only chance of avoiding utter destruction lay in the close union of all. Moreover, the manner in which the Hindu princes generally disposed in those days of their crown-lands was very impolitic. When a king had more than one son, he usually assigned to each of them a particular province, thus destroying the state, for whose consolidation he had labored hard and which he had perhaps founded himself.

The stone inscription bears the date of Sunday (*Ravivāram*) the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīra after the expired Śaka year 1216, which coincides with the present

Jaya year of the sixty years' cycle of Bṛhaspati. This date corresponds with Sunday the 28th of November, 1294 A.D. (Old Style).¹

At that time Sultān Jalāluddīn Firōz Shāh Khiljī was reigning in Delhi. He had ascended the throne in 688 Hijri or 1289 A.D., and was murdered by his nephew and son-in-law Sultān 'Alāuddīn on the 17th of Ramazan 695, *i.e.*, in July 1296 A.D. 'Alāuddīn, when Governor of Karra, undertook his first expedition against the Rāja of Dēvagiri with the permission of his Sultān between the 19th of Rabiulakhir and the 28th of Rajab 695, *i.e.*, between February and April 1296 A.D.

The two persons mentioned in the inscription are Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru and Viṭhalanātha. No printed information about these two men can be found anywhere. Neither of them is even mentioned in Professor Horace Hayman Wilson's learned introduction to his Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection, or in Sir Walter Elliot's well known Monograph on Hindu Inscriptions, or in the late Mr. James Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities. Yet both these men were persons of considerable importance and wielded great power in the territories now belonging to the Nizam and in the Ceded Provinces.

The grand deeds which are attributed to Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru mark him as a successful general who had gained many victories, and as a prince of distinction. In the following discourse he will be identified with Gōre Rāyā Gaṅga-dēvayagāru, who is mentioned as commander-in-chief and prime minister of the Kākatiya king in the Local Records of the Oriental MSS. Library in Madras. In the inscription his residence is named *Poddamānapura*, which is perhaps identical with Pottapināḍu, mentioned in the Local Records.

¹ I am indebted for the rectification of this and other dates to Mr. W. S. Krishnasvami Naidu, Head-Translator of the Madras High Court, who has made Indian Chronology his special study.

Gōre is occasionally spelt Gorre ; Raddivāru corresponds to Rāya, the word Radḍu being derived from the Sanskrit *rāstram* ; *raddivāru* is, therefore, king. Gaṅgaya Dēva and Gaṅgadēvaya are different forms of the same name.

The Kākatiyas were the reigning family at Orugallu (*Ēkaśilā*), to whom belonged *Rudra Dēva*, who is mentioned in the inscription. His full name is Kumāra Kākatiya Pratāpa Rudra Dēva, who reigned from Ś.Ś. 1190 to about 1245. *Hasulu* indicates the Hoysala dynasty which reigned at Dorasamudra or Paḍabīḍu (*Halēbīḍu*) in Mysore.

With respect to the names of places occurring in the inscription, the identification is not always easy. *Kuḍupakūru* seems to correspond to the modern Kaḍapa ; *Gaṇḍi* is most likely Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Kaḍapa district ; in *Lakkināyaka* I recognize the leader of *Lakh* or of *Lakkunḍi* situated in the Bombay Presidency, unless it is preferred to explain Lakkināyaka as a personal name ; *Adipalli* is not far from Kaḍapa. There are in the Nizam's territory and the neighbouring districts many places called Kandūru ; but the place alluded to in the inscription I take to be Karnūlu (Kurnool). In the Tārīkh-i-Alai of Amīr Khusru, who died 1325 A.D., Kandūr is repeatedly mentioned as a place of importance in the wars between the Hindus and the Musulmans (1310-1311 A.D.²). *Tērālakāḍu* is most likely *Talakāḍu* in Mysore, the ancient capital of the Gaṅga dynasty, north of which lies *Toṇḍanūru* (Tonnūr), in which name I am inclined to recognize *Toṇḍagōdhūmapattana*.³ *Ādavanitumbaka* is Ādōni.

² Compare the History of India, edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., by Professor John Dawson, Vol. III, p. 90. Karnūl is also called Kandanavōlu or Kandanōlu and Kandanūru or Kandūru. The meaning is derived from the black soil (*kandu*) round Karnūl.

³ Talkher in the Nizam's territory, Telikoti in the Kaladgi district of the Bombay Presidency and Tarlakōṭa in Ganjam have similar names.

Gōdhūma means wheat, which is much grown in Mysore and also in the country round Tonnūr. *Toṇḍanūru* or *Yādvapurī*, a place of great importance, was once also a residency town.

Concerning *Māgadahālura* I am as yet unable to make any positive statements.

Viṭhalanātha or Viṭhalēśa or Viṭhala was a prince belonging to the family of the Narapatis. We are enabled to prove his identity on the authority of Kōnērinātha, a contemporary Telugu writer, who dedicated his *Bālabhāgavatam* to Tirumalarāja, the elder brother of Viṭhala. In the preface to this book Kōnērinātha gives a genealogy of the family of his patron, and sings also the praises of Viṭhala. The preface of the *Bālabhāgavatam* seems to have been entirely overlooked either by Professor Wilson or by his amanuensis, but it is still more peculiar that the *Bālabhāgavatam*, of which two copies exist in the Mackenzie collection, is neither described by the Rev. William Taylor in his *Catalogue Raisonné* of that collection, nor even mentioned in his *List of the Telugu MSS.* contained in that collection.

I. ABOUT GÖRE GAṄGAYA RADDIVĀRU.

The dynasty of the Gaṅgas was, after its overthrow in Mysore, not doomed to insignificance. In various parts of Southern India we soon observe them again rising to influence, if not as mighty princes, yet as generalissimos and ministers of the ruling dynasties, while in Orissa they succeeded at last in founding a powerful realm.

Thus one Gaṅgarāja, master of Kolālapura (the modern Kolār), distinguished himself as a general of the king of the Pallavas; another served the Calukya king Bhuvanaika Malla; the Hoysala king Viṣṇu Vardhana entrusted to a Gaṅgarāja the offices of minister and general, and we meet with other Gaṅgas in the reign of the Kalacurya Vijala of Kalyāṇa.⁴

In the extracts from the Local Records, which are given below, occur the names of Gaṅgaya Dēva Mahārāja and

⁴ See Mysore Inscriptions by Lewis Rice, p. xlvi.

Gorre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru. The natives of India do not now-a-days always adhere to one particular form of their names, still less did their ancestors do so in those remote times; the difference of names does not, therefore, necessarily indicate difference of persons. It is therefore possible, that both titles apply to one and the same individual. Between the first inscription of the Local Records, in which Gaṅgaya Dēva Mahārāja is mentioned, and the Rācūru-inscription lies only an interval of 35 years, (from 1181-1216 Ś.Ś., or 1259-1294 A.D.), which is not too long a period for one person to occupy a post. It must also not be overlooked that according to p. 20 Gaṅgaya Dēva could not have ruled long before 1181 Ś.Ś. The king Gaṇapati Dēva and his grandson Pratāpa Rudra Dēva might have entrusted their realm and army to the same Gaṅgaya, who filled both the offices of prime minister and generalissimo. Moreover, it must not be forgotten, that the same locality is everywhere mentioned as the residence of the prime minister and commander-in-chief.

On the other hand, if in the context two different individuals are alluded to, who held successively the same position under the same dynasty and ruled over the same territory, a close relationship may fairly be presumed to have existed between them.

At all events the extracts from the Local historical Records about Gaṅgaya Dēva Mahārāja and those which refer to Gorre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru, the personage specially mentioned in our inscription, are full of important details, and are worthy enough of being rescued from oblivion.

In the fifth volume of the Local Records (pp. 27, 28) Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva is mentioned, as far as I can ascertain, for the first time. The exact date of the inscription corresponds to Saturday, the 27th December 1259 A.D., Old Style.

The Records read as follows :—

After Mahārāja Tirukāliti Dēvacōla had borne the burden

of the reign and when Mahārāja Gaṇapati was ruling the kingdom, his commander-in-chief Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva holding supreme sway over Siddhavaṭam,⁵ Pottupinādu,⁶ and other countries, lived then in a village called (Mavujē) Mayadakūru,⁷ which lies north of the Duvvūru⁸ division of the abovementioned sub-district. One Mahārāja Jannigadēva, his sister's son, was very powerful. When Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva was holding supreme sway over this country, he gave the town of Mayadakūru, in which he resided, as an agra-hāram to Brāhmanas, dividing it into 68 śrōtriyam grants during the holy feast Makara Saṅkrānti, on the 11th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Puṣya, in the year Siddārthi, corresponding to the Śaka year 1181. In proof of this there is a stone-tablet in a street in the middle of the abovementioned village. As proof of the reign of the Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva there exists moreover a stone tablet in the Siddhēśvara temple of Jyōti⁹ on the northern bank of the Pinākini¹⁰ on the north side to the village Jyōti in the abovementioned sub-district.

తిరుకాలితి దేవచోళ మహారాజు రాజ్యభారం చేసినత
ర్వాతను గణపతిదేవ మహారాజు రాజ్యభారం యేలుతూవుం
డగా వారి అగ్రసేనాపతి గంగయదేవ మహారాజు సిద్ధవటం
పొత్తపినాడు మొదలైన సీమలు ప్రభుత్వం చేస్తూవుండి అప్పు
డు తాలూకు మజుకూరు పరగణే దువ్వూరిపైకి మవుజే మయ
దకూరు అనే గ్రామమందు వుండిరి. ఆయన తోడబుట్టువ
కుమారుడు జన్నిగదేవ మహారాజు అనే ఆయన ఒకడు ప్రబ
లుడై యుండెను. గంగయదేవ మహారాజులవారు యీ
సీమ ప్రభుత్వం చేశేటప్పుడు వారికి వునికిపట్టుఅయిన మయద

⁵ In Kaḍapa, east of the latter, commonly spelt Sidhout.

⁶ I identify Pottapinādu with the modern Budvail in Kaḍapa, see p. 21.

⁷ In Kaḍapa, north of the town Kaḍapa, commonly written Midekoor.

⁸ A sub-district in Kaḍapa, commonly called Dhoor.

⁹ In Kaḍapa, lies north of the Pennār near Siddhavaṭam.

¹⁰ Or Pennār.

హూరిపట్నము శకవర్షములు ౧౧౮౧ సింధుధీ సంచత్సర
పుష్య శు ౧౧-లు మకరసంక్రాంతి పుణ్యకాలమయందు బ్రా
హ్మలకు అరవైయేనిమిది వృత్తులు శ్రోత్రియ అగ్రహారము చేసిరి.
ఇందుకు రుజువు సదరహీ మవుజే మయదకూరు గ్రామం
మధ్యను వీధిలో శిలాశాసనం వున్నది. ఇదిగాక గంగ
యదేవ మహారాజులవారి యేలుబడికి రుజువు తాలూకు మజు
కూరుపైకి మవుజే జ్యోతిఅనే గ్రామానకు పుత్తరభాగమందు
పినాకినినదికి పుత్తరభాగమందు వొడ్డుననే జ్యోతి సిద్ధేశ్వ
రుని దేవాలయములోనొక శిలాశాసనము వున్నది.

Another account of the same event is found in the Local
Records, vol. xviii, pp. 22, 23, where Gaṅgaya Dēva Mahā-
rāja is called the prime minister of Gaṇapati Dēva, and his
nephew's full title is given as Murāri Nārāyaṇabalamatta-
gaṇḍa Gaṇḍapendēra Janniga Dēva Mahārāja.¹¹

The next mention of Gaṅgaya Dēva is dated Thursday, 2nd

¹¹ గణపతిదేవమహారాజువచ్చి యీ సీమ ఆక్రమించి యీదు
వూరికి ఆగ్నేయభాగమందు నాలుగుపరుగుల దూరమునవు
న్న మైదకూరు అనే గ్రామంచూచి దువ్వూరుకన్నను మైదకూ
రు వెల్లడిస్థలమైనందున అది నివాసయోగ్యముగా చూచి అక్క
డగణపతిదేవ మహారాజులవారి ప్రధాని అయిన గంగయదేవ
మహారాజు నివాసంచేసుకొనివుండి రాజ్యం యేలుతూవుండి
ఆయన తోబుట్టువయొక్క కుమారుడు మురారి నారాయణ
బలమత్తగండ గండపెండేర జంగిగదేవ మహారాజు అనే ఆయ
న మహా పరాక్రమవంతుడు సేనాధిపతిగా వుండెను - ఇది
గాక మహా ప్రధాని గంగయదేవ మహారాజు రాజ్యభారం
వహించి ప్రజా పరిపాలనచేస్తూవుండి తనయొక్క రాజధాని
మైన మైదకూరు అగ్రహారం చేయవలెనని అరవైయేనిమిది
వృత్తులు శ్రోత్రియముగా నిషర్ష చేసి అగ్రహారం చేసెను -

February 1262 A.D., Old Style. We read in the Local Records, vol. v, pp. 28, 29, as follows:—

While this Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva ruled over this country, Mahārāja Brahmarākṣasa Siddhaya Dēva, the son of Mahārāja Kadambarāya Bhīmaya Dēva, undertook an expedition with the intention of conquering it. While he was encamped near Sōmaśilapatnam,¹² which lies on the northern bank of the Pinākini, two parugas¹³ to the east of which is situated the village Pattapurāli, Mahārāja Murāri Nārāyaṇa Balamattagaṇḍa Gaṇḍapendēra *Janniga Dēva* (a sister's son of Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva who reigned over the abovementioned country), prepared for battle as soon as he arrived, after collecting an army from the territory of Mahārāja Gaṅgaya. A terrible battle took place between him and Mahārāja Brahmarākṣasa Siddhaya Dēva near Sōmaśilapatnam. Brahmarākṣasa Siddhaya Dēva died after having been victorious in this battle. In proof of this there is a written stone-tablet in a deserted Īśvara temple (which is situated near the village common of the now deserted¹⁴ village called Annalūru,¹⁵ which lies north of the division of the abovementioned sub-district Duvvūru) dated the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha in the year Durmati, corresponding to the Śaka year 1183.

ఇందుకు రుజువు హాళిపరగణే మజుకూరుపైకి పై మైద
కూరు గ్రామంయొక్క వీధినడుమ పూడ్చివున్న శిలాశాస
నము సోమంచంద్రకరీశశాంకకలితే అని వ్రాశివున్నది - ఇం
దుకు గణిత సంజ్ఞను శకం ౧౧౮౩ సిద్ధాధి సంవత్సరం అని
వ్రాశివున్నది - మకర సంక్రాంత్యాం ద్విజేభ్యోపి తా ఎతా
అష్టాధిక పష్టివృత్తయః - వృత్తులు ౬౮ అని వ్రాసివున్నది.

¹² Lies north of the Pennār in Nellore on the frontier of Kadapa.

¹³ Originally *parugu* means a distance a man can run ; or about two miles.

¹⁴ "Being without lights" is its original meaning.

¹⁵ In Kadapa, in the sub-district Dhoor.

Moreover it is written in the abovementioned stone tablet that a Bhīmaya-lingam has been erected for the village of Annalūru in a Śiva temple, and that śrōtriya gifts have also been bestowed at the same time as endowments.

ఈ గంగయదేవమహారాజులవారు యీసీమ యేలుతూ
వుండగా శ్రీమన్మహామండలేశ్వర కాంచీపుర వరాధీశ్వరు
డైన కదంబరాయ భీమయదేవమహారాజులగారి కొమారుడు
బ్రహ్మరాక్షససిద్ధయదేవమహారాజులు యీ దేశం సాధించ
వలెనని దండు కదలివచ్చి పట్టపురాలి గ్రామానకు పూర్వభా
గమందు రెండు పరుగులదూరమున పినాకినిదికి వుత్తరభాగ
మందునవున్న సోమశిలపట్టంవద్ద దండుదిగివుండగా మైనివ్రా
సిన యీ సీమ యేలుచూపున్న గంగయదేవమహారాజులతోడ
బుట్టువ కొమారుడు అయిన మురారి నారాయణ బలమత్త
గండ గండపెండేర జన్నిగదేవ మహారాజుగారు గంగయదేవ
మహారాజులుగారితట్టునుంచి సైన్యమును కూచుకొని యు
ద్ధసన్నద్ధులై రాగాను వారికిన్ని బ్రహ్మరాక్షస సిద్ధయదేవ
మహారాజులుగారికిన్ని సోమశిల పట్నంవద్దను అఘోరమ
యిన యుద్ధము అయినది. ఆయుద్ధమందు బ్రహ్మరాక్షస సిద్ధ
యదేవమహారాజు గెలిచి ముక్తుడైనాడు. యిందుకు రుజు
వు తాలూకు మజుకూరు పర్గణే దువ్వూరుపైకి మవుజే అన్న
లూరు అనే గ్రామం హాళి బెచిరాఖు ఆగ్రామకంఠమైన స్థల
ముయందు వుజాడుఅయిన యీశ్వర దేవాలయంవద్దను శిలా
శాసనము శాలివాహన శకవరుషములు ౧౧౮౩ అగు నేటి
దుర్మతిసంవత్సర మాఘ శు ౧౧ - లు తారీఖున వ్రాసివు
న్నది. ఇదిగాక అన్నలూరుగ్రామానకు వొక శివాలయ
ముయందు భీమయలింగము ప్రతిష్ఠ చేసి ఆదేవరకు అంగరంగ
భోగమునకుగాను వృత్తియిచ్చినట్టుగాను సదరహీ శాసనము
లోనే వ్రాసివున్నది.

According to an account found in the 18th volume of the Local Records, p. 23, one Jotti Rāmi Nāyaḍu, a follower of Gaṅgaya Dēva, erected this stone tablet.¹⁶

In the 18th volume of the Local Records we find lower down on the same page 23, another passage relating to Gaṅgaya Dēva. Its date coincides with the end of 1271 and the beginning of 1272 A.D. It runs as follows:—

After the Mahārāja Gaṅgaya Dēva had been reigning for some time, the renowned Mahārāja Maṇḍalēśvara Tripurāntaka Dēva came and entered Duvvūru, made this village his capital, fortified extensively the site of the town, selected it as his residence, and held the sovereignty over a little territory. Proof of this is afforded in the inscription on a fragment of a stone-tablet near a snakebund on the raised earth mould of a fig-tree in the midst of the village Jannavaram belonging to the abovementioned division half a paragu on the west of the chief town of Duvvūru. On it is written “Hail to the illustrious Mahārāja Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Brahmarākṣasa Tripurāntaka Dēva who was ruling his kingdom in the town of Duvvūru in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant news in the year Prajōtpatti, corresponding to the Śaka year 1194.” Three-fourths of this tablet is broken in pieces and cannot be made out, the whole context therefore is not known.

¹⁶ ఇదిగాక యీ గంగయదేవ మహారాజువద్ద నిజభృత్యుడైన జొత్తి రామినాయడు అనేవాడు వుండేవాడు - ఆ రామినాయడు అనేవాడు మైదూరికి ఆగ్నేయభాగమందు రెండు ఆమడమారం పినాకినీ నదికి పుత్తరభాగమందు జ్యోతిసిద్ధనాథుడు అనే యీశ్వరలింగానకు దేవాలయం ప్రాకారగోపురములు కట్టించినాడు - ఇందుకు రుజువు సదరహీ దేవస్థానములో శిలాశాసనమువున్నది - శకవర్షములు ౧౧౯౩ దు మఱి సంవత్సరం అని వ్రాసివున్నది.

ఈ గంగయదేవ మహారాజు కొన్ని దినములు ప్రభుత్వం చేసినపిమ్మట శ్రీ మన్మహామండలేశ్వర త్రిపురాంతక దేవ మహారాజు అనే ఆయన వచ్చి దువ్వూరికి ప్రవేశించి యీ గ్రామం రాజధానిచేసుకొని పేటస్థలం విరివిగాబస్తీచేసి అక్కడ నివాసంచేసుకొనివుండి సీమ కొంత ప్రభుత్వం చేసుకొంటూ వుండెను - యిందుకు రుజువు కనుబే దువ్వూరికి పశ్చిమభాగమందు అరవరగుమారమున పరగణె మజుకూరుపైకి మాజే జన్నవరం గ్రామనడుమ మేడిచెట్టు అరుగు నాగులకట్టవద్ద శిలాశాసనము పగిలిపోయిన తునకపయిన వుండే మతలబు - స్వస్తి శ్రీమన్మహామండలేశ్వర బ్రహ్మరాక్షస త్రిపురాంతక దేవ మహారాజు దువ్వూరిపట్టణంబున సుఖసంకథావినోదంబున రాజ్యముచేయుచుండగాను శకవర్షములు ౧౧౯౮ ప్రజోత్పత్తి సంవత్సరం అని వ్రాసివున్నది - ఈ శాసనం ముప్పాతికె పగిలిన తునకపోయినది కనుపించలేదు గనుక మతలబు అంతా తెలియలేదు.

The first place where the name of *Göre Gaṅgaya Raddivāru* is mentioned occurs in the 8th volume of the Local Records, page 81; there we find the following passage, whose date corresponds to Sunday, the 28th of December 1287 A.D., Old Style.

“The prime minister *Göre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru* having erected in honor of his king *Mahārāja Ambadēva*¹⁷ *maṇṭapams* round the *Paraśurāmēśvara* temple in *Aravuturēvulu* in *Pottapināḍu*, as well as planted cocoanut trees and dedicated to the deity some freehold land, gave to Brahmans food and choultries at the time of the *Makara Saṅkrānti* on Friday the 5th of the dark fortnight of the month of *Puṣya* in the year *Sarvajit*, corresponding to the (*expired*) Śaka year 1209. On this same tablet it is written that he, after having built the village *Ambapura* near *Kaḍapagudī*, transformed it into an *agrahāram*. Yet there is now near *Kaḍapagudī* no *agrahāram*

¹⁷ *Ambadēva* reigned in Bellary.

called Ambāpuram ; although we have inquired after it, we have heard nothing about it. On the other hand there is two parugas to the west of Kaḍapa an Agrahāram Ambavarām.¹⁸

మహాప్రధాని గోతే రాయగంగ దేవయగారు తన్నేలి
న అంబదేవ మహారాజులకు పుణ్యముగాను శకవరుషంబులు
౧౨౦౯ నేటి సర్వజిత్తు సం॥ పుష్య బ ౫ శుక్రవారమునాడు
మకర సంక్రమణ కాలమున పొత్తపినాటిలోని అటవుతురే
వుల పరశురామేశ్వరుని గుడి చుట్టు మంటపములు కట్టించి
నారికేళముల వృక్షములున్న వేయించి దేవునికి కొంతమా
న్యమున్ను యిచ్చి మహేశ్వరులకు అన్నసత్రమున్ను పెట్టిం
చినారు. ఈ శాసనములోనే కడప గుడివద్ద యంబాపుర
మనే పూరుకట్టించి అగ్రహారంచేసెను అని న్రాసివున్నది.
ఇప్పుడు కడప గుడివద్ద అంబాపురం అనే గ్రామం లేదు.
మేము విచారించగాను వినలేదు. అయితే కడపకు పడమర
రెండువరువుల దూరమున అంబవరం అనే గ్రామం వున్నది.

The next allusion to Gōre Gaṅgaya in the Local Records (xviii, pp. 218, 219) is dated Sunday, 13th August 1290 A.D., Old Style, and reads as follows:—

When this Mahārāja Pratāpa Rudra Dēva governed the kingdom of the earth as the illustrious Mahārāja Gaṇḍa-
peṇḍēra Ambadēva ruled over the country, and when the
illustrious prime minister Gorre Rayya Gaṅgadēvayagāru
was with them as an experienced administrator, a boundary dis-
pute having arisen between the villagers of the village Boḍḍe-
ceruvu and the villagers of the village Rāvulakolani about
a tract of land newly reclaimed from the forest of the above-
mentioned sub-district of Ōbaḷam,¹⁹ Gaṅgadēvayagāru settled
the boundary between the inhabitants of the two villages on
Thursday the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada

¹⁸ Lies a few miles west from Kaḍapa.

¹⁹ In Kaḍapa.

in the Vikṛti year, corresponding to the (*expired*) Śaka year 1212. In support of this, there is a stone tablet inside the bank of the tank called Mugguru²⁰ of the three villages Ōbālam, Bodḍecerla, and Brāhmanapalle in the tract of land newly reclaimed from the forest of Ōbālam.

ఈ ప్రతాప రుద్రదేవ మహారాజులు పృథ్వీరాజ్యం యే
లుచుండగా నె శ్రీమతు గండపెండేర అంబదేవమహారాజులు
యీ దేశం యేలుచుండగాను వారివద్ద శ్రీమత్ మహాప్ర
థాని గొర్రెరయ్య గంగదేవయగారు కాయదత్తులైవుం
డగా తాలూకు మజుకూరు వోబళం పాయకట్టులో మవుజే
రావులకొలని గ్రామస్తులకున్న మవుజే - బొడ్డెచెరువు గ్రా
మం వారికిన్ని పొలిమ్యార వివాదం వచ్చివుండగా గంగదేవ
యగారు పుభయగ్రామములవారికిన్ని పొలిమ్యార నిణ్
యంచేసిన శకం ౧౨౧౨ అగు నేటి వికృతి సంవత్సర భాద్ర
పద శు ౭ గురువారాన ఈ ప్రకారం వోబళం పాయకట్టు
న వోబళం బొడ్డెచలన్ బ్రాహ్మణపల్లె యీ మూడుగ్రామ
ముల ముగ్గురను చెర్వుకట్ట లోతట్టున శిలాశాసనంపున్నది.

The same incident is alluded to in the 8th volume of the Local Records, page 81.²¹

²⁰ ముగ్గురు means *three persons*, and this name is perhaps given because the tank belongs to the inhabitants of three villages.

²¹ ఈ అంబరాజు సిద్ధవటం తాలూకు వోబళంలో చెల్లె
మజరా గుంటుపల్లెకు పుత్తరం కాలుపరువుకూరమున యీప
ల్లెకున్న బొడ్డెచెలన్ బ్రాహ్మణపల్లె యీ ముగ్గుడు సందున
యీ అంబరాజు ప్రథాని గొర్రెరయ్య గంగదేవయగారు కాయ
దత్తులయివుండి పైనివాసిన మూడువూళ్లకున్న పొలి
మ్యారవాదం వచ్చివుండగా నిణ్ణయించిన శకవషంబులు
౧౨౧౨ అగు నేటి వికృతి సం॥ భాద్రపదశుద్ధ గురువారం
నాడు శాసనం వేయించినారు.

From the abovementioned reports it is clear, that Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru, was a very influential personage closely connected with the Kākatiya sovereign and that he exercised independent rule in the Kaḍapa district.

So much only has it been possible to ascertain about Gōre Gaṅgaya Raḍḍivāru, but it is quite sufficient to establish his identity with the Gōre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru of the Local Records.

II. ON VIṬHALA AND HIS FAMILY, THE NARAPATIS.

The other individual, and in fact the principal person mentioned in the inscription, is Viṭhalanātha. About his existence even less is known than about Gaṅgaya. In fact, previous to my discovering an account of Viṭhala in Kōnērinātha's introduction to the Telugu version of the Bālabhāgavatam, I could ascertain nothing about his history. Fortunately the evidence supplied by Kōnērinātha is so strong that all doubts respecting the identity of Viṭhala are set at rest.

Kōnērinātha, a son of the minister Nāgaya¹ and a Telugu writer of eminence, flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Stimulated by the example of such Telugu poets—as *Nannayabhaṭṭa*, the pioneer of Telugu poetry, who began the Telugu version of the Mahābhārata; *Bhīmanna* (Bhīma Kavi or Bhīma Kavīśvara), the author of the Bhīma Candassu; *Erraya* (Erra Pragada) and *Tikkaya* (Tikkana Sōmayāji), the first of whom continued and the latter of whom completed the Telugu translation of the Mahābhārata; and *Śrīnātha*—all of whom he mentions in his preface, Kōnērinātha undertook a Telugu adaptation of the Sanskrit Bhāgavata, which he named Bālabhāgavatam. It was

¹ See Introduction to the Bālabhāgavatam, p. 5. Compare C. P. Brown's Telugu-English Dictionary about the time of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa and Tikkana.

written in honor of Timmarāja at the request of his son Tirumalarāja. To this Tirumalarāja, who was the eldest brother of Viṭhala, the Bālabhāgavatam was dedicated. The families of the Telugu princes in those days are distinguished by their literary propensities, and appear again and again as liberal patrons of poetry, arts and sciences.

In the preface to the Bālabhāgavatam, Kōnērinātha gives an accurate account of the family of his patron, which family is known as the dynasty of the Narapatis. As Kōnērinātha, who hailed from Duvvūru, was a son of a former minister, he enjoyed as such a peculiarly favorable position for being well informed about the family history of his protector. The genealogical information about the Narapatis supplied by Kōnērinātha coincides with the statements contained in the Vasucaritram of Rāmathhūṣaṇa, in the Narasabhūpāliyam of Śāradamūrti, in the Narapativijayam or Rāmarājīyam, the family chronicle of the younger line of the Narapatis and with those furnished by inscriptions.² But inasmuch as the patron of Kōnērinātha belongs to the elder branch of the Narapatis, and the other works just quoted are devoted to the younger royal line, information is given by Kōnērinātha about this elder branch which is not contained elsewhere. The elder line is descended from Timmarāja, the elder son of Rāmarāja, while the younger line is descended from Śrīraṅgarāja, the third and youngest son of the same prince.

The origin of the Narapatis is in all the four works and in the Dēvanhalli inscription traced back to Arjuna and thence to Candra. The Narapatis are moreover styled Cālukyas. According to the Narapativijayam and to the Dēvanhalli inscription Nandarāja is the eighty-third descendant of the Pāṇḍava Arjuna, and Cālukya the ninth descendant of Nanda. From Cālukya descended in course of time the well-known

² See Bālabhāgavatam, p. 5. Compare with respect to the genealogy of the Narapatis the *Tamra Inscription at Devanahalli*, as given on pp. 252-256 in the Mysore Inscriptions by Mr. Lewis Rice.

Vijala or Bijjala of Kalyāṇa. This Vijala, who belonged to the family of the Kalacuryas, though he usurped the throne of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, is himself called Cālukya Nārāyaṇa; he is also known as Veṅga Tribhuvana Malla.³ Vijala's power increased rapidly, until he came to an untimely end by the machinations of the famous Basava, the founder of the sect of the Liṅgamites. Vijala had raised this Basava from an insignificant position to the post of prime minister and commander-in-chief through the influence of the beautiful Padmavati, the sister of Basava, to whose charms Vijala had succumbed and whom he had married. Vajadēvamalla, Mollayya and Bommaṇṇa are mentioned in the Cannabasava-purāṇa as the actual murderers of Vijala.

The son of Vijala, generally known as the Yuvarāja, was, according to the Narapativijayam, the father of Hemmālirāja, who in his turn became the father of Tātapiṇṇarāja, who in the Bālabhāgavatam, Vasucaritram, and Narasabhūpāliyam heads the list of the Narapati dynasty.

The Narapatīs are therefore, according to the Narapativijayam, the representatives of Vijala, and, like him, they are repeatedly called Cālukyas. The Narapatīs themselves rose to great power, especially in the territories of the Nizam, the Northern Circars and Ceded Districts.

³ In the Narapativijayam Vijala is called "the sovereign of the best town Kalyāṇa, belonging to the Ātrēya Gōtra, who purifies his family by the observance of Kṣatriya rites, a Cālukya Nārāyaṇa, a Cālukya Cakravartī, who is like a boar to the kings of the earth, Veṅgatribhuvana Malla," &c.

(కల్యాణపురవరాధీశ్వర ఆత్రేయగోత్ర శ్చక్రియాచారకులవత్రిత చాళుక్యనారాయణ చాళుక్యచక్రవర్తి మండలికరధరణీవరాహవేంకత్రీభువనమల్ల.)

The Basava Purāṇa also calls Vijala a Cālukya. According to Mr. L. Rice, "Mysore Inscriptions," p. 253, the Dēvanhalli inscription reads: "From him the eighth in descent was *Nanda*, from him the ninth was *Chalikiya*, from him the seventh *Śripati*. . . Then came *Bhaira*, an equal of kings, from whom sprung *Bijjalendra*. The tenth in succession from him was *Vīra Hammāli Rāya*." The words *eighth* and *tenth* are wrong. Mr. Rice himself says that the inscription is very indistinct.

Tātapinnamarāja, the founder of the Narapati dynasty, who was also called Mannepuli, was succeeded by his son *Sōmadēva* who seems to have been a very powerful prince in his time. His cavalry consisted of 60,000 troopers. He is said to have resided at *Āraṇḍu* and to have taken the seven fortresses *Kandanavōlu*, *Rācūru*, *Sātānikōṭa*, *Yātagni*, *Kalupakolu*, *Musalimadugu*, and *Gaṅginēnikoṇḍa*.⁴ Among his titles are mentioned *Bhāratimalla* and *Vibhāla*. His son was *Rāghavarāja*, who was in his turn succeeded by *Pinnamarāja* or *Pinnaśauri*. *Sāluva Narasiṅgarāya* filled during this period the post of prime minister.⁵ The next reigning prince *Bukkarāja* resided chiefly in *Āraṇḍu*, and was therefore called *Āraṇḍi Bukkarāja*. In his reign an expedition is mentioned against *Kandanavōlu*. He had two wives *Abbalādēvi*, the mother of *Siṅgarāja*, and *Ballādēvi*, the mother of *Rāmarāja*. The latter succeeded eventually to the throne of *Kalyāṇa*, after having ruled for some time at *Kandanavōlu*, which he had taken. He was also victorious in a war against the *Kācādhīśa* of *Ādavēni*: his army consisted, according to *Kōnērinātha*, of over 70,000 men.⁶

Rāmarāja had by his queen *Lakkāmba* three sons, *Timmarāja*, *Koṇḍarāja* (or *Koṇḍaśauri*) and *Śrīraṅgarāja*, the youngest of whom succeeded his father on the throne of *Kalyāṇa*. To this *Śrīraṅgarāja* who married *Timmāmba* are ascribed many victorious expeditions. He is said to have reduced the *Nizām* (*Nijāma*), taken *Kāñcīpuram*, and held power over the whole *Karṇatik*.⁷

Śrīraṅgarāja's eldest brother *Timmarāja* resided at *Āraṇḍu*. He resembled his relatives in his warlike disposition, and was called *Mannepuli* or wild tiger.⁸ He took *Gutti*, *Penugonḍa*,

⁴ See *Narapativijayam*, p. 23.

⁵ See *ibidem*, p. 27.

⁶ See *Balabhāgavatam*, p. 9, and *Narapativijayam*. In the *Dēvanhalli* Inscription *Ballādēvi* is called *Ballālīka*.

⁷ See *Narapativijayam*, p. 32, *Vasucaritram* I, p. 104. The title *Nizām* occurs previous to the *Nizām Shāhi* dynasty of *Ahmednagar*.

⁸ See *Balabhāg.*, p. 8.

Durgi, Gaṇḍikōṭa, Kandanavōlu, and Ādavēni. Otherwise not much is known about him. Timmarāja was eventually killed by his nephew Rāmarāja.⁹

Timmarāja had four sons, Tirumalarāja, Viṭhala (or Viṭhalēśa), Cinnatimmarāja and Pāpatimmarāja.¹⁰ The eldest, *Tirumalarāja*, acquired, it seems, great power; he was called, like his ancestor Vijala, a *Cālukya Nārāyaṇa*.¹¹ At his court lived Kōṇērīnātha, the author of the *Bālabhāgavatam*, and it was at his patron's request that the work was composed. One need therefore not be astonished that the poet is anxious to praise his protector, but Kōṇērīnātha does not seem to have overstepped the limits of truth for the sake of glorification.

Next to Tirumalarāja, the principal personage in our inscription, *Viṭhala*, is the subject of Kōṇērīnātha's eulogy. Of him Kōṇērīnātha speaks in the following strain:—

“Viṭhala, the highest among kings, is a Dharmarāja,¹² who never prevaricates; a Nārāyaṇa, who never begs; an Arjuna, who does not recede from the fight; a spotless moon, that does not lose her brightness; a sun, which never sets; an Indra, who does not covet other men's wives; he is like an emblem of righteousness and the first among worthy men. Kṛṣṇa not being able to shake off the bond of friendship which existed between him and Arjuna, was born as Viṭhala, as the fortieth (forty-fifth?) in his (Arjuna's) prosperous family, as the son of Timmabhūpāla, for the purpose of protecting righteousness. Viṭhala, the son of Rāmarāja Timmabhūpāla, acts amidst the sound of the war-drum as an impediment to the full flow of the rut, which comes from the crowd of elephants, which belong to the lord of elephants (Gajapati), who resides in the city of Kaṭaka, as a destroyer of the pride in their strength of the famous warriors of the Pāṇḍya king, as an originator of the shivering of the body of the king of horses (Tukkhārapati) of the great fortress of Makkhā,¹³ and as a source of fear which prognosticates future

⁹ See Narapativij., p. 36; Bālabhāg., p. 9; and Vasucaritram.

¹⁰ See Bālabhāgavatam, p. 8.

¹¹ See Bālabhāgavatam, p. 3.

¹² All these comparisons are allusions to well known legends.

¹³ See page 36.—The king of horses also called *Āśvapati* represents the Mahomedans.

separation from their king to the wives of the sovereign of the town of Delhi."¹⁴

The youngest brother of Viṭhala also distinguished himself as a soldier, for he bore the titles of Mannepuli and Mannevi-bhāla, and he is credited with having gained victories over the Mālavas, Śakas, and even over the Nipālas.¹⁵

Yet in spite of all the brilliant qualities of the sons of Timmarāja, their cousin Rāmarāja seems to have eventually

¹⁴ See Bālabhāgavatam, p. 12, lines 3-16 :

ఉ॥ బొంకనిధర్మజుండడుగబోవనిపన్నగశాయియాజిలో ।
 గొంకనియన్జనుండు కఱకందులు లేశశశంకుడెన్నడుం
 గ్రుంకనిభానుడన్య సతిగోరని జిష్ణుడనంగబొల్పుధ ।
 త్తాంకుడువిత్తలక్షితివరాగ్రణిమానధనాగ్రగణ్యుడై ॥

మ॥ తనకున్నెచ్చెలియైనక్రీడిపయినంతర్లోహబంధంబువో ।
 వనివాడైహరివిత్తలేశ్వరుడు తద్వంశంబునన్సంపదల్ ।
 తనరన్నల్పదియే న్తరంబులగు నంతదిన్ముఖూపాలనం ।
 దనుడైవిత్తల రాజమూర్తిపాలిచెఁ ధర్తావనోద్యోగితన్ ॥

సీ॥ కటకాఖ్య కటకస్థకరటిరాడ్ల జఘటాసంభూతమదభర
 స్తంభకంబు ।
 పాండ్యభూమిభృతృభావిరాజితభటోద్భటభుజాబలగ
 ర్వభంజకంబు ।
 మక్తామమహాదుర్గతుక్తారపతివపుస్థాయి వేపభుసముత్థాన
 దంబు ।
 డిల్లీపురాధీశవల్లవోష్ఠీభావివిప్రలంభకథాభయప్రదంబు ।
 రామనరనాథతిమ్మ భూరమణపుత్ర ।
 విత్తలేశాభిధానపృథ్వీకళత్ర ।
 ధాటికారంభసంభ్రమధ్వనితపటహ ॥
 గణసముత్థితధణధణంధణరవంబు ॥

¹⁵ See Bālabhāgavatam, p. 14.

maintained his position as head of the Narapatis. He was the third son of his father Śrīraṅgarāja and his mother Timmāmba ; his brothers being Kōnarāja, Timmarāja, Tirumalarāja and Veṅkaṭarāja. He had also a sister Lakkāmba, who was married to Aupalarāja, a son of Timmarāja, and was fifth in descent from Kalikāla Cōla Vibhuḍu of the Solar race. Aupalarāja's son was Narasarāja, to whom Śāradamūrti, who is also commonly called Bhaṭṭamūrti, dedicated the Narasabhūpāliyam.

Rāmarāja ruled for some time at Vidyānagara, aided by his minister Sadāśivarāja.¹⁶ In the attempts to uphold his power Rāmarāja was loyally supported by his two younger brothers, Tirumalarāja and Veṅkaṭarāja, who defeated *Barīda*, put to flight Adilkhān and captured him near the Bhīmarathi.¹⁷ Family disputes must have run high in the family of the Narapatis, as Rāmarāja is even accused of having killed his uncle Timmarāja.¹⁸ To Rāmarāja, who married a daughter of Kṛṣṇarāja, are attributed many valiant deeds in fighting both against his countrymen and the Mahomedans. According to the Narasabhūpāliyam the whole Karnāṭaka country was governed by Rāmarāja, who fought also successfully against Kutb-ul-Mulk (కుతుబుల్), imposed tribute on Rācūru and subdued the Nizam. These facts the Vasucaritram also mentions. In the Narapativijayam also Rāmarāja defeats his Mahomedan foes under *Bhūdalakhān* (which might stand for Fuzlkhān فضل خان), *Yēdulakhān* (Adilkhān, عادل خان), *Nidānamalaka* (Nizām-ul-mulk, نظام الملك, or perhaps Ain-ul-mulk,

¹⁶ See Balabhāgavatam, p. 9.

¹⁷ As mentioned in the Narasabhūpāliyam. Adilkhān (అదిల్ ఖాన్) is also called Sapāda (సపాదా)

¹⁸ See Balabhāgavatam, p. 9 and Narasabhūpāliyam. According to the latter work Timmarāja was beheaded by his nephew. The Vasucaritram also accuses Rāmarāja of his uncle's murder. *Salkaya* is the word used for uncle.

(عين الملك), *Imādanamalaka* (Imād-ul-mulk, عماد الملك), *Kutuvanamalaka* (Kutb-ul-mulk, قطب الملك) and Vullikhan (Valikhan, ولي خان) all names which are of frequent occurrence.

The Narapativijayam, which is the family chronicle of the Narapati dynasty in the line of Rāmarāja, gives an exhaustive account of his exploits. This throws much light on contemporary history and also on certain passages in the Rācūru inscription, and is therefore given below in the Telugu text as well as with an English translation as follows :

జయ జయ స్వస్తి సమస్తసద్గుణస్తోమభద్ర రణరంగరా
మభద్ర కల్యాణమహిపాలభాస్వర కల్యాణపురవరాధీశ్వర
కన్యాకుమారీభీమరథితటాంతనిత్యైపవిజయస్తంభ స్తోత్రేయ
యశఃప్రక్రియాపావనచరిత్ర ఆత్రేయగోత్ర క్షత్రియకులపవి
త్ర మహితకేళికాపారాయణ మహితచాళుక్యనారాయణ
ధానుషకచక్రవర్తివిరుద చాళుక్యచక్రవర్తివిరుద నానావ
ణమండలీకరగండ దైత్యంబరగండ హత్తిబృరగండ భాసు

Translation.

“Be victorious, be victorious! Hail! (Rāmarāja) who is resplendent by the multitude of all good qualities, who is like Rāmahadra on the battlefield, who is conspicuous as the king of prosperity, the sovereign of the best city of Kalyāna, who has erected a column of victory on the furthest banks of the Bhīmarathī and Kanyākumārī, whose life is purified by (*listening to*) praiseworthy panegyristic compositions, who belongs to the Ātrēya race, who is a purifier of the Kṣatriya caste, who devotes himself to the worthiest amusements, who is a worthy Cālukya Nārāyaṇa,¹⁹ renowned by the title of Dhānuṣka Cakravartī, the sovereign of bowmen, renowned by the title of Cālukya Cakravartī, the lord of princes belonging to many castes, the conqueror of Daityambara, the lord of twelve princes, he who possesses a club-like shining arm, the lord of the worthiest among victors,

¹⁹ See p. 26.

రభుజాదండ జయబిరుదరగండ లసమసోగరుగండ హెనునవి
 రుదరగండ గండరగండ యిభగనికృతశరజన్యలంపట త్రిభువన
 బిరుదులవెన్నుసంబెట పట్టినేయునిజానిష్ట వడ్డెరాయనిజా
 భీష్ట ఇష్టవగాయఘనప్రియంకర అష్టదిగ్రాయమనోభయం
 కర విజయచరితసింహాసనాభాస్వర విజయనగరసింహాసనా
 ధీశ్వర యుత్తవగాసద్యాధనపుర గుత్తిదుర్గానిభేదనపర
 వాదిపూరతకాభరణ ఆదవేనిదుర్గాహరణ ఘనచండవ
 గానాధక పెనుగొండదుర్గాసాధక మంద్రగిరివర్గారాజ్యభా

Translation.

Lasamasōgaruganda,²⁰ the lord of modern worthies, the hero of heroes, who delights in the bowfight made by persons on elephants, who is the hammer which strikes the back of the worthies of the three worlds, who is the cause of the calamity of *Paṭṭinēya*,²¹ who is very friendly to *Vaḍḍerāya*,²² who does much kindness to the circle of his friends, who is very formidable to the kings of the eight quarters, who is conspicuous on his throne by his victorious exploits, who is the sovereign of the throne of *Vijayanagara*,²³ *Yuttavargasadhyānapura*, who is intent on breaking the fort of *Gutti*,²⁴ who is an ornament of *Tarka* in the crowd of scholars, who took the fort of *Ādavēni*,²⁵ who punishes the throng of great evil-doers, who acquired the fort of *Penu-gōṇḍa*,²⁶ whose kingdom is resplendent by a multitude of mountain-like elephants, who is the sovereign of the kingdom of

²⁰ The passages which defied translation are given in the literal transliteration.

²¹ Not identified.

²² *Odde* is a man who belongs to Orissa. About the *Vadde Reddis* see among others C. P. Brown's *Cyclic Tables*, p. 8.

²³ Or "one who shines on the throne called *Vijayacaritra*." The Hindu kings gave names to their thrones.

²⁴ Near Bellary.

²⁵ *Āḍōni*, formerly a very strong fortress.

²⁶ In Bellary.

స్వర చంద్రగిరిదుర్గరాజ్యాధీశ్వర శద్దపరినబ్ధసాలక పుద్గిరి
 రాజ్యపాలక కాయదుర్గతనయుబంధుర రాయదుర్గావన
 ధురంధర వందనశీలకీరీటపాదక కందనవోలుక వాటభేదక చా
 టూరుఫణితినిర్వాహక జూటూరుసమరనిర్వాహక చండఘో
 టఖడ్గసాయక కొండవీటిదుర్గానాయక పుట్టపల్లిసీమాధిష్ఠిత
 ధామసాగర రెట్టపల్లిసీమాప్రతిష్ఠితధామసాగర వంకాదిమ
 వీరసమాసంగిశ బంకాపురవీరరమాలింగిత సాంద్రకీర్తినిరంతర
 చంద్రగుప్తినిరంతర ఆచారరాజ్యభరణచర్య రామారురాజ్య

Translation.

the fortress of Candragiri,²⁷ who has a rampart which resounds with watchwords,²⁸ who is the protector of the kingdom of Uddagiri (Udayagiri),²⁹ the friend of the son of Kāyadurga, who bears the burden of guarding Rāyadurga,³⁰ to whose feet kings bow with their head-jewels, who broke the door of Kandana-vōlu,³¹ who is a patron of the flowing style of panegyrics, who fought the battle of Dsūtūru,³² who has fierce horses, swords, and arrows, who is the master of the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu,³³ who is an ocean of fame placed in the country of Puṭṭupalli,³⁴ who has erected a famous tank in the country of Reṭṭahalli,³⁵ who fought with Vaṅka and other heroes, who was embraced by the goddess of heroism of Baṅkapura,³⁶ who is full of substantial glory, who stays often at Candragupti,³⁷ who by his acts guards

²⁷ In North Arcot.

²⁸ Or "one who has fortresses built at a word" (uttered by him).

²⁹ Udayagiri in Nellore; there is also a place of the same name in the Nizam's territory.

³⁰ In Bellary.

³¹ Karnūl. Kandana-vōlu (Kandanaprōlu ?) Also called Kandavōlu. Kandanūru and Kandūru is the same as Kandana-vōlu, see p. 13.

³² Both in Bellary and Kaḍapa is a place of this name.

³³ In Gunṭūr.

³⁴ The modern Budvail in Kaḍapa.

³⁵ In Kaḍapa.

³⁶ In Dharwar.

³⁷ In the Nizam's territory, another Candragupti is in Mysore.

హరణధుర్య మదచండవగాఁధిదాయక ముదుగంటిదుగాఁధి
 నాయక పరిభల్లుచరణభూషణ ఒరుగల్లునగరపోషణ విజయక
 రాయతసాయక విజయాపురభయదాయక వలనాధిపరక్షో
 పకార సోలాలాపురసంక్షోభకార కల్యాశిన్తపకబాధక క
 ల్యాణనగరసాధక సామదానముఖశీలరంజన ఆముదానగరసా
 లభంజన దావకరమాగ్గవిక్రాంతిసార దేవగిరిదుర్గసమాక్రాం
 తిధీర శౌతమిస్నానపావనాకార కౌతుకాధీనభావనాధార బ
 లిచాపవిధాజన్యదారక హలిపురచాంచల్యకారక బలిఘటితకూ

Translation.

the religious customs and his kingdom, who was foremost in taking the country of Rācūru, who causes anguish to the mass of pride-inflated miscreants, who is the principal governor of the fort of Mudugallu,³⁸ whose foot ornament is Paribhallu, who is a supporter of the town of Orugallu,³⁹ whose long arrow confers victory, who inspires fear in Vijayapura, who protects and helps the king of Varlana, who gives anxiety to Sōrlalapura, who annihilated bellicose kings, who subdued the town of Kalyāṇa, who pleases by his behaviour, such as conciliation and liberality, who broke the ramparts of Āmudānagara,⁴⁰ whose valour is unapproachable like the way of the flames of the forest fire, who was very brave at the taking of the fortress of Dēvagiri,⁴¹ whose body is purified by the bath in the Gautamī,⁴² who is the abode

³⁸ Mudugallu in the Nizam's territory.

³⁹ Or Orukallu or Oraṅgallu, Ēkaśailanagara in the Nizam's territory. The meaning is "town of one rock."

⁴⁰ As Ahmednagar was only built in 1494, it can hardly be the same place, unless Ahmednagar was erected on the site of a former town, whose name was afterwards arabicized. Āmuda (ఆముదము) is a Telugu word meaning *Castor oil*, and a pun is even made on this word in another place of the text.

⁴¹ Daulatabad.

⁴² Name of one of the branches of the Gōdāvari and of the Gōdāvari itself.

టతమసింహసంహనన బెడదకోటనగరశృంగసంహనన కరికూ
టపాకలశౌర్య కలుబలిగికోటపాటనధుర్య నగరసమాక్రమణవి
చార సగరసమాక్రమణధీర పరచండనిర్గతకింకర పరచండదు
గభయంకర సంసుదుగభిరహణ హంసదుగభిర్బహు
సుతాటకవగభన్ద్రంధనాసిక కతాటబుధధన్యాసిక జు
తాంరులభయనినాయక నిణసామజసముద్భృష్టనిష్ఠాధిదా
యక సామగిరిదాపక రామగిరిదుగభ్రతిష్ఠాపక మేదినితలస
మగ్రసంపాదన యాదవగిరిదుగభేదన శీలచండవృదుభాషణ
గోలకొండపురదూషణ అయిలకొండచండవిమతహాలూహల

Translation.

of thoughts excited by curiosity, who frustrates the bow-fight of strong men, who causes fright to Halipura, who is strong like a lion in the punishing of deceitful rogues, who destroyed the towers of the town of Beḍadakōṭa,⁴³ whose bravery annihilates the enemies as fever the elephants, who was able to break down Kalubaligikōṭa,⁴⁴ whose thought is always directed to taking the towns of his enemies, who resembles Sagara in prowess, who is brave in fight like Sagara, whose servants appear fierce against his enemies, who frightens the formidable forts of enemies, who destroyed the fort Samsu, who destroyed the fort Ham̐sa, who hurled his mantrams on the clan Sūrṇātāka,(?) who gave wealth to the wise men of Kārṇātāka, who allayed the fear of the people of Durnāru, *Nirṇasāmajasamudr̥ṣṭaniṣṭādhidāyaka*, who caused Sāmāgiri to be given away, who built the fort of Rāmāgiri,⁴⁵ who acquired the whole earth, who destroyed the fort of Yādavāgiri, whose speech is both soft and hard, who destroyed the town Gōlakonḍa,⁴⁶ who was poison to his fierce enemies of Ayilakonḍa,⁴⁷ who was pleased with the capture of Ayilakonḍa,

⁴³ Bedar in the Nizam's territory.

⁴⁴ Gulburga.

⁴⁵ One place of this name is in the Nizam's territory, another in Bellary, besides others in other parts of India.

⁴⁶ Golkonda.

⁴⁷ Eilgundel in the Nizam's territory.

అయిలకొండహరణకౌతుహల సానుభల్లువృతిపరాక్రమ పా
 నుగల్లుకృతిపరాక్రమ పానుగంటిదుర్గపాటనధుర్య భూనుత
 సాహసధుర్య వెల్లితచండదుల్లభ బెల్లముకొండవల్లభ నిలయ
 లోలగజతాకార మలయ కేలిమహిమాధార కామసముదాచ
 రణాక్రమణ రావపదమానసక్రమణ శౌవగవర్గబాధక మా
 పురదుర్గమాధక ఖండితసమగ్రసంధాచణ దండితసమస్తశ
 త్రుగణ లక్ష్మకూఠరత్రానికర మక్ష్మకోటరత్రానికర మక్ష్మకోట
 శిక్షునికర లక్ష్మకూడశిక్షానికర వుల్లిఖాన్ని జాప్తకల్లాలజాలక
 డిల్లీపురహల్లకల్లాలహలిక కేళితుమందారుగతబృందాయక గో

Translation.

who was brave in beleaguering Sanubhallu, who was victorious in founding Sānugallu, who was able to break down the fort of Pānugallu,⁴⁸ who was able to do grand deeds praised by all, who cannot be conquered by his surrounding enemies, who is the master of Bellamakonda,⁴⁹ who has elephants moving in the stables,⁵⁰ whose greatness enables him to play on the Malaya mountain, who punishes those who act according to their own desires, whose inclinations are directed to the feet of Rāma, who attacks the multitude of Jains,⁵¹ who annihilated the fort of Māduru,⁵² who is able to reconstruct broken alliances, who punishes all his enemies, who protected those who ascended Lakkhā,⁵³ who protected the fort of Makkhā,⁵⁴ who punished the fort of Makkhā, who punished those who ascended Lakkhā, who caused great fright to the friends of Vullikhān, who is the cause of terror to Delhi, *Kēlitumandārugatabr̥ndāyaka*, who

⁴⁸ In Hyderabad.

⁴⁹ In Guntūr.

⁵⁰ Or whose body is moving like that of an elephant.

⁵¹ Śavaga.

⁵² In the Krishna District. Instead of Lakkhā, the reading in one manuscript is in one place Akkhā.

⁵³ South of Aurangabad, see p. 8.

⁵⁴ Probably the modern Mehkar in the Berar.

లేరునం దేరుఉభయసంధాయక కలంబవగ్గసంభాసుర కలంబ
 దుగ్గకంపాసుర భూగోళరుచిరభూషణ వై గోదనగరభీషణ
 కొండపల్లిహరణ చండకరనిభప్రతాపభరణ వినుకొండపాలక
 వినూత్నకృతనాగాజునునికొండసాలజాలక అవన్తికలితపూ
 రణ అవన్తిమదకవిదూరణ కటకరాజ్యాధికలవత్తన కటకరా
 జ్యఘటితకీత్తన ఆజిక రేంద్రదారుణశరాసన రాజమహేంద్ర
 రాజధనుశ్శాసన భూదలఖానుతిక్తాంగహరణ యేదులఖానుస
 ప్తాంగహరణ నిదానమలకగుణసహజాపగాధిచారక నిదానమ

Translation.

joined the Gōlēru with the Nandēru,⁵⁵ who shines in the crowd of arrows, who like an Asura makes the fort of Kalamba shake, who is a shining ornament on the earth-globe, who frightened the town of Paigōva,⁵⁶ who took Koṇḍapalli,⁵⁷ who carries a splendour like the sun, who protected Vinukoṇḍa,⁵⁸ who restored the great number of ramparts of Nāgārjunadēva,⁵⁹ who fulfilled the wishes of Avanti (?), who suppressed the pride of Avanti,⁶⁰ whose career gives anxiety to the king of the Kaṭaka country, whose fame is spread in the Kaṭaka country, whose bow frightens the best warriors, who broke the bow of the king of Rājamahēndra,⁶¹ who took the fragrant body of Bhūdalakhān, who took the kingdom⁶² of Yēdulakhān, who has as his followers of Nidānamalaka, who took the strength of the arm of Nidānamalaka, who had the glory of his deeds

⁵⁵ In the Nizam's territory.

⁵⁶ Another reading is Paigōda.

⁵⁷ In the Krishna District.

⁵⁸ In the Guntūr District.

⁵⁹ Śiva.

⁶⁰ Another reading is Lavanti.

⁶¹ Rajamandri.

⁶² Saptāṅgamu.

లకభుజాబలాపహరక రమాధిపవినుతాపదానకీర్తన యిమాద
 నమలకమానమర్దన భృతరిపుదళనబంధుర కుతువనమలకదళ
 నసింధుర కరితరుణకారీశుసుగుణాభరణ బరిదుబలహరణ భు
 జకృతిరిపుధావనావధాన గజపతివినుతపరాక్రమావధాన కరిక
 ర్కశ సమగ్రస్తధిక్రూతారాతివగ్జలవిశాల కరివగ్జమన
 నిగ్జపరకర్కవా రాశివగ్జకేళ గిరిదుగ్జవనదుగ్జజలదుగ్జ
 స్థలదుగ్జచారాశితిదుగ్జ సమస్తదళవిభాళ రిపురాజగోపికా
 గోపాల గాయగోపాళ శ్రీరంగరాజరామభూపాల విజయీ
 భవ దిగ్విజయీభవ.

Translation.

praised by Ramādhīpa,⁶³ who crushed the pride of Imāda-
 namalaka, who is able to destroy crowds of enemies, who like
 an elephant trampled on Kutuvanamalaka, *Karitaruṇakārī-*
śusugunābharana, who took the strength of Barid, who with his
 arm devoted himself to the flight of his enemies, whose glory is
 praised by Gajapati, whose great strength despises the enormous
 array of the enemy, who is formidable through his elephants,
Karivargamananirgaparakarkavārāśivargakēḷa, who injured all
 mountain-forts, forest-forts, water-forts, land-forts and army-
 forts, who behaves to hostile kings like Kṛṣṇa, who sings like
 Kṛṣṇa, O King Rāma, son of Śrīraṅgarāja, be victorious, be
 victorious in all the quarters!"

⁶³ Viṣṇu.

The Narapativijayam or Rāmarājiyam was towards the end of the sixteenth century compiled by Veṅkaya, son of Sūraya, at the special command of (Kōdaṇḍa) Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of the famous Kṛṣṇa Rāja, the king of Vijayanagaram. Rāmarāja himself became renowned as ruler of Vijayanagaram by his valiant exploits and successful administration. The work was written previously to the fatal battle of Talikōṭa, where Rāmarāja lost his life. Veṅkaya based, no doubt, his earlier accounts of the family-history of his patron on the historical records of contemporary writers, such as are compiled and preserved in the different reigning families. Most of the Indian princely families keep even now such records. This remark is only made to secure to the passages extracted from the Narapativijayam that consideration which they deserve.

The statements of the Narapativijayam with respect to Rāmarāja are in most cases also supported by the Pratāpa Rudra Caritram and the account of the kings of Oraṅgallu, both which manuscripts are in the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library. From these works we clearly perceive the dissension which reigned among the Hindu princes; for while Pratāpa Rudra supported by the Narapati princes, especially by Rāmarāja, was fighting against the Muhammadan invader, the Rāja of Katak was the firm ally of the latter. Again and again Rāmarāja who filled the post of Commander-in-Chief of Pratāpa Rudra's army, fought successfully against Vali Khan and the Rāja of Katak, but he could not prevent the final defeat of Pratāpa Rudra and his being made the prisoner of Vali Khan. He tried though unsuccessfully to intercept the victorious Vali Khan and to liberate Pratāpa Rudra, but though surrounded, Vali Khan escaped. Yet the Rāja of Katak had to suffer from the hands of Rāmarāja, for he was killed by him and even the Rāja's son and successor Mukunda Sundara, found a fierce foe in Rāmarāja. During the captivity of Pratāpa Rudra in Delhi, his younger brother

Anamadēva continued the war in alliance with Rāmarāja and at last they succeeded in defeating Vali Khan and the Rāja of Katak. As a reward for these glorious deeds Pratāpa Rudra, when he had returned from his captivity, gave to Rāmarāja his daughter Rudramma as wife, and Anamadēva gave him his daughter Mummakka. Pratāpa Rudra conferred on him also all the land south of the Kṛishṇa river and presented him with five crores of gold coins.

Though Rāmarāja had left a numerous family behind, the immediate heir to his throne was his younger brother *Tirumalarāja* (also called *Erratimmarāja* to distinguish him from his elder brother) who resembled his brother in energy and bravery. In battles fought near Penugonḍa, the Nizam suffered defeat at the hands of Tirumalarāja, as is related in the Vasucaritram. In the Narasabhūpāliyam he is called Cālukya Nārāyaṇa and Manneviḥhāla. He is, moreover, known as a friend and protector of poets and scholars. Rāmārājabhūṣaṇa dedicated to him his Vasucaritram, and it contains a good account of the history of Tirumalarāja. His wife was *Veṅgalāmba*, by whom he had four sons, Raghunātharāja, Śrīraṅgarāja, Śrīrāmarāja, and Veṅkaṭarāja, who assisted their father, when they had grown up, in consolidating and extending his rule. *Raghunātharāja*, who assumed as his ensign the Varāha or boar, fought, according to the Vasucaritram, successfully against the Sapāda and the Nizam in a battle near the Kṛishṇa river. His brother *Śrīraṅgarāja*⁶⁴ was

⁶⁴ It is to this *Śrīraṅgarāja* that the Dēvanhalli inscription refers. The date given by Mr. Rice is incorrect. It should be Śāka 1306 instead of Śāka 1506, if the numeral words *aṅga* (6), *ambara* (0) and *indu* (1) are right, there ought to be a numeral word denoting three, e.g., *vahni*, instead of *bāna* (5) between *ambara* and *indu*. The pedigree given in the inscription is clear and coincides totally with all the other records. A great point in favor of the accuracy of the inscription is that it agrees in the names of the wives of the different kings. Thus the wife of the first Rāmarāja was *Lakkāmba*, that of Śrīraṅgarāja was *Timmāmba*, that of Tirumalarāja *Veṅgalāmba*, and the name of one of their sons was *Śrīraṅgarāja*. The inscription seems to have been very illegible, as the beginning of p. 254 (see Rice's Mysore Inscriptions) gives no sense. Tirumalarāja had no son *Viśākhi*.

installed as crown-prince or Yuvarāja, and superintended the administration of Kuntala, Lāṭa, Vatsadēśa (Magadha), Kāñci and Aṅga. He made himself also master of Śrīraṅgapaṭṇam, the well-known island in the Kāvērī river. Of Śrīrāmarāja nothing is particularly known, *Veṅkaṭarāja* is reported to have resided at Candragiri.

As Tirumalarāja, the brother of Rāmarāja, was the patron of Rāmabhūṣaṇa, the author of the Vasucaritram, and as his nephew Narasarāja was the patron of Śāradamūrti, the author of the Narasabhūpāliyam, it is clear that the author or authors of these two works could not have lived two hundred years later at the court of Vijayanagaram in the time of Kṛṣṇa Rāja and of Kōdaṇḍa Rāma Rāja,⁶⁵ his son-in-law. And yet this is the common tradition which has been even adopted by scholars of reputation. Horace H. Wilson makes repeatedly this wrong assertion⁶⁶; so does the Rev. William

⁶⁵ Kōdaṇḍa Rāma Rāja occupied the throne till 1564.

⁶⁶ See Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, I, pp. 297, 341, and 352. On page 297 Wilson says: "Of the learned men of his court, eight are distinguished as the eight *Dig-gajas* or elephants who uphold the world of letters. The names of the whole have not been ascertained, but the following five were of the number—*Appāya Dikshit*, *Allasāni Peddāna*, *Venkatapāta*, *Bhattumurti*, *Pingala Suranārya*." On page 341 he observes that the Vasucaritram was written "by *Bhattumurti*, said to have been one of the poets of the court of Krishna Raya and Rama Raja, composed by desire of Terumala Raya Raja of Pennaconda after the downfall of Vijayanagar, one of the five grandsons of Rama Raja." Here Wilson is entirely wrong. The Tirumala alluded to is not the brother of Rama Raja of Vijayanagaram who succeeded after the battle of Talikōṭa to establish himself at Penugonḍa, but Tirumala Raja, the brother of the first Rama Raja, who reigned at Penugonḍa. He was the grandson of Rama Raja and one of five brothers. Rama Raja of Vijayanagaram was the grandson of *Veṅkaṭa Rāja* and one of three brothers; and on page 352 he contends that the Narasabhūpāliyam "derives its name from Narasa, the father of Krishna Raya, whose genealogy is traced by the poet from the sun through the solar race of princes to Kalikala Chola. In his family, it is said, *Pochi Rāja* was born, and from him Narasa is made the 28th in descent. Narasa Raya was Prince of Vijayanagara about 1495." Compare the genealogical table on page 73. Messrs. Higginbotham and Co. in Madras have lately carefully reprinted Wilson's Catalogue, and there these remarks occur respectively on pages 295 and 301.

Taylor⁶⁷ ; Cavelly Venkata Ramasvami⁶⁸ too and many others have adopted and spread the same mistake. It seems almost impossible how any one who has read the Vasucaritram and the Narasabhūpāliyam could make such wrong statements ; the pedigree is given most clearly in both poems which entirely coincide in all particulars, especially about Tirumala and his family. Our genealogical tree of the Narapatis is partly based on these abovementioned works. The author of the Vasucaritram is called Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa ; that this is not a real, but an assumed name need not be specially proved. The poet in question was patronised by Rāmarāja, the brother of Tirumalarāja, and was accordingly called “the ornament of Rāmarāja.” The seventeenth verse of the Avatārika to the Vasucaritram confirms this assertion. The poet introduces Tirumalarāja as saying the following words : O poet Rāma-bhūṣaṇa, thou hast pleased many a time by Sanskrit and Telugu poems my elder brother Rāmarāja, who was a great conqueror and a master of all sciences, and hast been honored by him with gifts of necklaces of gems, horses, elephants, and villages ; thou art in all ways a worthy person.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ See Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts, III, pp. 206 and 219. Mr. Taylor says about the Narasabhūpāliyam that it is “a poem by one of the *Ashta diegajas* at Vijayanagaram, there having been eight learned men so termed by way of distinction. *Timma Rāju*, or by title *Bhattamurti*, from poetical eminence, was one of these eight poets of Krishna Rayer’s court. This work, written by him, is entitled after the father of Krishna Rayer ; and, as usual, contains the genealogy of the patron.” About the Vasucaritram Mr. Taylor observes that it was “composed by Bhattamurti, one of the eight celebrated poets at Vijayanagaram. It was written after the capture of Vijayanagaram and under the patronage of Timmarāja of Pennaconda, son of the ill-fated Rāmarāja, last of the Vijayanagaram dynasty and elder brother of the two rulers at Chandragiri and Seringapatam.”

⁶⁸ See Biographical Sketches of Dekkan Poets, pp. 85, 86.

⁶⁹ See Vasucaritram, verse 17.

శా॥ శ్రీ రామక్షీలపున్నదగ్గజజయ శ్రీలోలునానాకలా ।
 పారీణంబముసంస్కృతాంధ్రకృతులం బల్కలుమెప్పించి త ।
 త్కరుణ్యంబసరత్నహరహయ వేదండాగ్రహరాది స ।
 త్కరంబందితి రామభూషణకవీ ధన్యుండవన్మిట ॥

The word *Bhaṭṭu* is, moreover, not a proper name ; it is the general term for “bard,” and corresponds in meaning to the Sanskrit *māgadha*. The bard or *bhaṭṭu* belongs to the royal caste, in which he occupies a subordinate position, and his office is to praise the deeds of his royal patron.

Thus another name of the author of the *Narasabhūpālīyam* is *Śāradamūrti*, who is also called *Bhaṭṭamūrti*.

The *Rāmarāja*, son-in-law of *Kṛṣṇarāja*, at whose court *Bhaṭṭamūrti* is said to have lived, is therefore, not as was assumed up to now, the *Rāmarāja*, the son of *Veṅkaṭarāja*⁷⁰ and son-in-law of *Kṛṣṇarāja* of *Vijayanagaram*, but is *Rāmarāja*, the son of *Śrīraṅgarāja* and son-in-law of another *Kṛṣṇarāja*. It is a peculiar coincidence that not only are the names of the fathers-in-law of both *Rāmarājas* the same, but those of their brothers also agree, they being in both cases *Timma* and *Veṅkaṭa*. Moreover the names of the sons of the two *Tirumalarājas* are the same, as in both cases we meet with a *Śrīraṅga* and *Veṅkaṭa*.⁷⁰ These resemblances have, no doubt, contributed to the confusion. We need not continue here our inquiry into the history of the *Narapatīs*, as it does not concern the immediate object we had in view, in elucidating the events, alluded to in the *Raichore* inscription. On the other hand we cannot omit mentioning the fact that the Hindu prince, *Śrīraṅgarāja*, who granted to the English negotiator, *Mr. Francis Day*, the site on which now stands *Madras*, the capital of Southern India, was the last *Narapati*, who reigned at *Candragiri*. He was descended from *Timma Rāja*, the second brother of *Rāma Rāja*, who fell in the battle of *Talikōṭa*.

We thus see what an important link the *Narapatīs* form between ancient and modern Indian history.

⁷⁰ Dr. Burnell gives on page 55 in the second edition of his “*Elements of South Indian Palæography*” *Virappa Nāyak* as the name of the father of *Rama Rāja* and his two brothers. This is incorrect.

In the above pages we hope thus to have proved the identity of Gōre Gaṅgaya Raddivāru with Gōre Rāya Gaṅgadēvayagāru and of Viṭhalanātha with Viṭhalēśa, the prince Viṭhala of the Narapati line. We hope further to have brought to light the important part the Narapati princes played in the history of Southern India, and their connection with the Cālukyas, through Vijala, the head of the Kalacurya dynasty. Incidentally we have also been able to prove that Viṭhala's cousins, Rāmarāja and Tīrumalarāja were intimately connected with Telugu literature, by the patronage they granted to contemporary writers, and that the Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇa Rāja and the patron of the so-called Bhaṭṭamūrti is not the Rāmarāja, who usurped in the sixteenth century the throne of Vijayanagara, but Rāmarāja, the son of Śrīraṅgarāja, who lived two centuries previously in the first half of the fourteenth century.

The Narasarāja, the hero of the Narasabhūpāliyam, is moreover not the father of Kṛṣṇarāja but of Śrīraṅgarāja, so that also in this respect the opinion hitherto upheld rested on a false basis.

Whether the authors of the Vasucaritram and of the Narasabhūpāliyam were one and the same person is another question, but it is neither improbable nor is it necessary.

Moreover, from the facts brought to light in this inquiry, it appears clearly that the Mahomedan invasion of the Dekkan was not at first so successful in conquering the native Hindu States as has been generally assumed till now; but such an inquiry deserves separately special attention.

II.

II.—SANSKRIT AND KANARESE COPPER ŚĀSANAMS
ENGRAVED IN NANDINĀGARĪ CHARACTERS
DUG UP NEAR WANDEWASH.

These two Śāsanams were dug up near Wandewash by Colonel Branfill, who kindly sent them to me for translation.

The Śāsanams which are published here have neither been previously printed nor translated. In some respects they resemble those found in the collections made by Colebrooke and Rice.¹ Our two Śāsanams are on three copper-plates, united by a copper ring with a *Vāmana* seal, the old emblem of the Vidyānagara kings. The plates are tablet-shaped, in the middle 9 inches, on the sides 7½ inches long and 5½ inches broad.

The first Śāsanam is on two plates, one of which is engraved on one and the other on both sides, 28 lines with 28 to 30 letters a line are on the first two sides and the third side has 15 lines with the signature of Tryambaka in Telugu. The second Śāsanam is on one plate with 28 lines on each side.

TEXT OF THE FIRST ŚĀSANAM.

॥ श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः ॥

कारणं जगतां वंदे कंठादुपरिवारणं ।

मातामहमहाशैलं महस्तदपितामहं

॥ १ ॥

क्षेमं वः प्रचुरीकुर्यात् क्षोणीमभ्युद्ब्रह्मन् हरिः ।

क्रोडाकृतेरभूद्यस्य क्रीडापल्वलमंबुधिः

॥ २ ॥

५ अस्ति क्षीरार्णवोद्भूतमपांपुष्पमनुत्तमं ।

अम्लानं यदनिर्माल्यमाधत्त शिरसीश्वरः

॥ ३ ॥

¹ Compare about a similar Śāsanam H. J. Colebrooke "On Ancient Monuments containing Sanskrit inscriptions" (Asiatic Researches, IX, pp. 398—444, reprinted in Professor E. B. Cowell's Edition of Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, II, pp. 213—255, see pp. 227—235); and Lewis Rice in his "Mysore Inscriptions," Bangalore, 1879, pp. 277—280. The translation of Nos. 149 and 150 in the Mysore Inscriptions is neither literal nor complete.

- सदामोदनिधेस्तस्य सन्ताने यदुसंज्ञिते ।
 अभूदाश्चर्यमाधुर्यं वसुधायास्तपःफलं ॥ ४ ॥
 सङ्गमो नाम राजाभूत्सारभूते तदन्वये ।
 10 रेजे यस्य यशस्सिधोस्तरणीव सुरापगा ॥ ५ ॥
 सर्वरत्ननिधेस्तस्य सम्राडासीत् तनूभुवां ।
 मध्ये बुक्कमहीपालो मणीनामिव कौस्तुभः ॥ ६ ॥
 तस्य गौरांबिकाजानेस्तनयोभूद्गुणोन्नतः ।
 हारगौरयशःपूरहारी हरिहरेश्वरः । ॥ ७ ॥
 15 यत्षोडशमहादानयशसां दिग्विहारिणां ।
 भूयसामभवन्नलं भुवनानि चदुर्दश ॥ ८ ॥
 प्रतापदेवरायोस्य पुत्रोभूद्भुवि विश्रुतः ।
 प्रमोद इव मूर्तोयं प्रजानां स्वैर्गुणैरभूत् ॥ ९ ॥
 प्रत्यर्थिसमिधो हुत्वा प्रतापाग्नौ रणांकणे ।
 20 विहितो येन वीरेण विजयश्रीकरग्रहः । ॥ १० ॥
 तस्य हेमांबिकाजानेस्तनयो विनयोन्नतः ।
 विद्यानिधिर्विशेषज्ञो वीरो विजयभूपतिः ॥ ११ ॥
 असौ विजयभूपालः पित्रा दत्तं स्वतेजसा ।
 समस्तं द्वाविडं देशमासिंध्याः पर्यपालयत् ॥ १२ ॥
 25 बुक्कक्षितीशसदने हरितान्ववायः
 श्रीसिंहसूरिरभवत्प्रथमानकीर्तिः ।
 यद्द्वारपञ्जरशुकाः किल सर्वशास्त्र-
 सिद्धांतभंजनसमर्थनकेलिलोलाः ॥ १३ ॥
 तत्पुत्रस्तार्किकाचार्यः पदवाक्यप्रमाणवित् ।
 30 सर्वं हरिहरक्षाणीभुजां धर्ममब्रवीत् यत् ॥ १४ ॥

तत्पुत्रो हंपणाचार्यस्सर्वविद्याविशारदः ।

निजेन चरितेनासीद्वसिष्ठ इव पूजितः ॥ १९ ॥

राज्ञा हरिहरेणापि देवरायेण भूभुजा ।

अचीकरदसौ विद्वान् महादानानि षोडश ॥ १६ ॥

35 सोयं विजयभूपालो हंपणार्याय धीमते ।

स्वदेशे चेद्वुपेडाख्यं ग्रामं मान्यं प्रदत्तवान् ॥ १७ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदयशकवर्ष १३३८ वर्तमानदुर्मुखि
संवत्सरद भाद्रपदबौळ सप्तमियलु श्रीमन्महामण्डलेश्वर श्रीवीर-
प्रतापविजयरायवोडयरु हरितगोत्रद आपस्तबसूत्रद सकलविद्या
विशारद तार्किकहंपणैयगळिगे कोट्ट ग्रामशासनदक्रमवितेंदरे प-
डबीदुराज्यदलु सप्तनाथनु माडुव आगरदहोबळि यनु वृत्तिपट्टिन-
ळि शेरिबहकोनैकोट्टपट्टिन चेद्वुपेडेब ग्रामके सल्लुव तगरइरुं-
डंतांगलु सह कुलवरहगद्याण इप्पत्तुमूरुहोन्नु मूरुहणं वट्टदिन्द
होन्नुहणंवडुहुरुळिय तुंष्टदिदंद मूरुहणवडुंबेळे अंतुं रोकवराह
इप्पत्तुनालुहोन्नु एद्वुहणंबेळे यकालुपळिसह चेद्वुपेडुग्रामवन्नु
तेजोनिधियलु महामायाप्रीतियागि सर्वमान्यदानधारापूर्वकवागि
कोट्टहु. ईग्रामके सल्लुव सुंकद भत्य मार्गयडतोरे चेक्ककडमे वाणिय-
रु सेट्टियरु सेणियरु कैकोळरतेरिगिवोळगाद सकलसुवर्णादाय
सकलभत्तादायसाहितवागि सर्वमान्यवागि आचन्द्रार्कस्थायियागि
अनुभविसुदु. ईग्रामद चतुस्तीमेयविवर ईसानामोदलागि एर्रको-
डकेणियकल्लुशासन, अळिंद नडसीमेयकल्लुपोरडियसालु,
अळिंद आग्नेयएळे वाहकोळगे तेंकलु एळकुलि, अळिंद तेंकलु-
कलरवयलु, अळिंद तेंकलु एरेयकोलेयमूडणसीमे, अळिंद तेंकलु-
कारणेयकेरेये गणपोक्करैमडु, इदरिंद तेंकलु पुलिकुल, अळिंद

तैकलु समयनारायणंकुलक्केबडगनकल्लु, अल्लिद वायव्य गुड-
दनडुवणतेवरुमरिसु, अल्लिद वायव्य सदरहोइदकल्लु, अल्लिद
बडगलु एट्टिकुलि, अल्लिद नाच्चिमांगलपडुवनकोडियहुत्त, अल्लिद
येत्तणङ्गेयमूडणवरपु, अल्लिद बडगलु मुरुकंकुलियपल्लगुलियशा-
सन, अल्लिद मूडलु मुक्कदकल्लु, अल्लिद ईसानकल्लुसालु, अल्लिद
पालकोल्लेयमूडणमरिसु, अल्लिद करुवलेवेले, अल्लिद एल्लेकल्लु-
गलु, अल्लिद एर्रकोनकेणि. ईचतुस्सीमेवोळगादनिधिनिक्षेप-
जलपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यअक्षिणिआगामिगोभूहिरण्याद्यष्टभोगवैव स्वा
म्यसहितवागि सर्वमान्यदानधारापूर्वकवागि कोट्टदु. आचन्द्रार्क-
स्थायियागि अनुभविस्सुवदु.

एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां ।
न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ॥
दानपालनयोर्मद्वचे दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ।
दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥
5 स्वदत्ताद्विगुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं ।
परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां ।
षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।
10 सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः ॥

॥ श्री० ०००००००० ॥

TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit Text.

Salutation to the rev^d Ganādhpati !

I salute that greatness, the cause of the worlds, him who is
an elephant (in shape) above his neck, who has the great

mountain for his maternal grandfather and does not possess any paternal grandfather. May Hari, who lifts up the universe, and to whom, when he had assumed the shape of a boar, the ocean became a pleasure-pond, increase your happiness.

There is a water flower ² which, not having its equal, arose from the milky ocean, and which unwithered, Īśvara placed unsullied on his head.

There grew a fruit from the penance of the earth, of extraordinary sweetness, in the Yadu family,³ of him (*Candra*) who is a receptacle of agreeable smells. In his (*Candra*'s) vigorous family arose a king *San̄gama* by name; the heavenly river (Ganges) shone like his path, whose glory was (like) that stream. Among the sons of him who was a storehouse of all jewels there was a sovereign prince *Bukkamahīpāla* like the *Kaustubha* gem among jewels. His (*Bukkamahīpāla*'s) and *Gaurāmbikā*'s son was *Hariharēśvara*, who, endowed with excellent qualities, was resplendent through the fulness of his glory like a pearl necklace. The fourteen worlds were not sufficient for the higher renown of his sixteen gifts, which renown pervaded all the regions. His (*Hariharēśvara*'s) son was *Pratāpadēvarāya*, who, renowned on earth, became by his virtues to his subjects like an embodied joy. By this hero was wedded on the battle-field the goddess of fortune, the fire-woodlike enemies being sacrificed in his firelike prowess. His (*Pratāpadēvarāya*'s) son, born from *Hēmāmbikā*, was the hero *Vijayabhūpāla*, who knew all distinctive qualities, was a storehouse of wisdom and excelled in modesty. This *Vijayabhūpāla* guarded with his glory up to the sea the whole *Drāviḍa* country given to him by his father.

There lived in the house of the king *Bukka*, *Śrīśimhasūri* of the *Harita* family, a man of renowned reputation; even the parrots which were in the cages at the doors of this house

² Allusion to *Candra*, the moon.

³ *Santāna* (family) is also the name of one of the five trees of *Indra*'s heaven.

were fond of the sport of attempting to refute the admitted facts of all sciences. His son *Tārkikācārya*, knowing Tarka, Mimāṃsā and Vyākaraṇa, propounded to the kings of Harihara all the ordinances of dharma. His son *Hampanācārya*, an expert in all sciences, was in consequence of his conduct honored like Vasiṣṭha. This wise man caused sixteen great gifts to be made by the king Harihara and the prince Dēvarāya. This Vijayabhūpāla gave to the wise Hampanārya the village *Ceṭṭupēḍu* in his country as a present.

*Kanarese Text.*⁴

Hail ! The village-grant executed on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the current year Durmukhi, in the victorious and prosperous 1338th (*expired*) Śaka year by the blessed monarch, the honored Virapratāpavijayarāya Voḍayaru, to the logician Hampanaiya of the Haritagōtra and Āpastambasūtra, who is skilled in all the branches of learning, is as follows :—

The village of *Ceṭṭupēḍu*, together with the tank near Tagara Irumpēḍu, which village *Ceṭṭupēḍu* belongs to Kōṇaikōṭṭapatti, which is enclosed in the freehold list of the Hōballi of Āgara, (and) governed by Saptanātha in the province of Paḍabiḍu, together with twenty-three hons⁵ and three fanams according to the weight of the silver pagoda in the village, with one hon and one and-a-half fanams by money exchange, three and-a-half fanams and one bele by depreciation of currency, in all twenty-four hons, eight fanams and one bele in cash, together with the village of Yakālu, is made over in honor of Mahāmāyā, the mine of glory, while water was poured out to legalize the gift.

The excise duties levied in this village, the road-cess, together with the tax on oil-mill owners and other oil-mongers,

⁴ In the Kanarese translation I have been much assisted by M.R.R. M. J. Śrīnivāsācārī and M. Tātadēśikatātācāryār.

⁵ One *pagōḍa* has 2 hons, 1 *hon* 5 fanams, 1 *fanam* 8 beles, 1 *bele* 2 vis, 1 *vis* 4 kandis.

on bazaarmen, cloth merchants and weavers, with all the income from revenue and all income from paddy should be enjoyed as a free gift so long as the sun and the moon last.

This is the description of the four boundaries of the village. Commencing on the north-east, the stone inscription of *Errakondakēni*, thence the middle boundary line of the front stone (?), thence on the south-east boundary, the boundary ditch south of *Vāhakolle*, thence southward *Kalaravayalu*, thence southward the eastern boundary of *Ereyakola*, thence southward *Kāraṇeyakere* and the pond at *Gaṇapokkare*, thence southward *Pulikula*, thence southward the northern stone of *Samayānārāyaṇaṅkula*, thence on the north-west *Tevarumarisu* in the middle of the hill, thence south-west a square stone, thence on the north *Ettikuli*, thence the northern snake hole of *Nāccimāṅgala*, thence the eastern bund of *Yettanāṅgēya*, thence northward the stone inscription at *Pallaguli* of *Murukaṅkuli*, thence eastward the broken stone, thence towards the north-east the row of stones, thence the eastern corner of *Pālakolle*, thence *Karuvalevele*, thence boundary stones, thence *Errakona-kēni*.

The mines, buried treasure, water, stones, actually existing and in future accruing property, visible and hidden property, such as animals, lands, coins, &c., which eight enjoyable freehold possessions contained within these four boundaries are granted, while water was poured out to legalize the gift.

Sanskrit Text.

The land, given to the Brahmans, is to be regarded surely in the world by all kings as a sister ; it is not to be enjoyed and not to be taxed.⁶

Of the two, giving and protecting, protecting is better than giving ; by giving one obtains heaven, by protecting one obtains the imperishable state. The protection of what was

⁶ The other meaning is "wedded."

given by another is twice as good as what one gives oneself. By taking away the gift made by another, the gift which one has made oneself becomes fruitless. Whoever should take away the land given by himself or by others is born a worm in faeces for 60,000 years.

This bridge of law is the same for all kings, it is always to be observed by you. Rāmacandra demands this for ever from all the present and future excellent princes.

In Telugu characters added ŚRĪ TRIYAMBAKA.

TEXT OF THE SECOND ŚĀSANAM.

॥ श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः ॥

बुक्कक्षितीशसदने हरितान्ववायः

श्रीसिंहसूरिरभवत्प्रथमानकीर्तिः ।

यद्द्वारपञ्जरशुकाः किल सर्वशास्त्र-

सिद्धांतभंजनसमर्थनकेलिलोलाः ॥

तस्यासीत्तनयश्श्रीमान् तादृगदिव्यगुणोन्नतः ।

तार्किको विष्णुयज्वासीद्विचाख्याता विश्वविश्रुतः ॥

राज्ञा हरिहरेन्द्रेण हारगौरयशश्श्रिया ।

अकारयदसौ विद्वान् महादानानि षोडश ॥

हंपणार्थस्ततो जज्ञे सर्वविद्याविशारदः ।

वसिष्ठ इव धर्मेषु वेदव्यास इवापरः ॥

राज्ञा हरिहरेणापि देवरायेण भूभुजा ।

अकारयन्महादानान्यग्रहाराननेकशः ॥

तार्किको हंपणार्थस्य सूनुस्तर्केषु विश्रुतः ।

विद्यया विनयेनापि पूर्वाननुकरोति यः ॥
 कारयन्नन्वहं धर्मान् देवरायमहीपति ।
 आनन्दयन्निजगुणैरास्ते विनयविश्रुतैः ॥
 राज्ञा विजयरायेण पित्रे दत्तममुं सुधीः ।
 ग्रामन्तु चेद्दुपेडाख्यं विप्रेभ्योदात्स्वयं प्रभुः ॥

शकवर्ष १३४८ वर्तमान विश्वावसुसंवत्सरद कार्तिकशुद्धद्वादशीपुण्यकालदलु श्रीमत्सकलविद्याविशारद तार्किकहंपणैयगळ मक्कळु तार्किकअय्यगळु कोट्ट धर्मशासनक्रमवित्तेदरे. नम्मतन्देगळु हंपणैयगळिगे विजयरायमहारायरु पडवीडुराज्यदलि सर्वमान्यद अग्रहारवागि दुर्मुखिसंवत्सरदलि कोट्ट चेद्दुपेडुयेंब ग्रामवन्नु नावु विश्वावसुसंवत्सरद कार्तिकशुद्ध द्वादशीपुण्यकालदलु सर्वमान्यवागि नानागोत्रद नानासूत्रद ब्राह्मरिगे बुद्धिष्ठवागिधारेयेनेरद हम्पणाचार्यपुत्रवेंबनामदलि अग्रहारवु इप्पत्तुनालकुवृत्तियागि कल्पिसि कोट्टेवागि आ वृत्तिमन्तब्राह्मरुगळ गोत्र सूत्र नामङ्गळविवर. गर्गगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद श्रीनिवासभरिगे हंपणैयेगळु धारेयेनेरद हत्तु काणिगे वृत्ति २ एरडु. अवर मक्कळु नारायणभट्टरिगे वृत्ति १. वाधूलगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद रायीकोडु सोमयाजिगळिगे वृत्ति २. वत्सगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र सहस्रनामभट्टरिगे वृत्ति १. शाकटायनगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्रद संनंबाडिय देवण्णगळिगे वृत्ति १. शठमर्षणगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद वरदनारायणभट्टरिगे वृत्ति १. द्वादशीपुण्यकालदलु धारेयेनेरदु कोट्टदु आवरदनारायणभट्टरमग हस्तिगिरिनाथगे वृत्ति १. आगोत्र आसूत्रद देवप्पेरुमाळ्ळगे वृत्ति २ एरडु. वत्सगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद यज्वभारतिगे वृत्ति १. भारद्वाजगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद जेरामभट्टरिगे वृत्ति १. भारद्वाजगोत्रद आपस्तंब-

बसूत्रद अनंतभट्टर वृत्ति १. बाधूलगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद नाराय-
णभट्टर वृत्ति १. कुंडिनगोत्रद बोधायनसूत्रद श्रीधरभट्टर वृत्ति १
भारद्वाजगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद यादवगिरीश्वरगे वृत्ति १. आसू-
रिगोत्रद आपस्तंबसूत्रद सुब्रह्मण्यपंडितर वृत्ति १. वत्सगोत्र
आपस्तंबसूत्रद भारदेव्यगळिगे वृत्ति =. निध्रवकाश्यपगोत्र
आपस्तंबसूत्र नारायणभट्टर वृत्ति =. आत्रेयगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र
अनन्तभट्टर वृत्ति =. बाधूलगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र बाक्कपेरुमाल्लु
वृत्ति =. वत्सगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र भूतिविष्णुभट्टगे वृत्ति =. ग-
र्गगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र श्रीधरभट्टर वृत्ति १. आगोत्र आसूत्र
तोलप्पगे वृत्ति =. आगोत्र आसूत्र भद्रनारायणभट्टर वृत्ति =.
कुंडिनगोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र नारायणगे वृत्ति =. आगोत्र आसूत्र
तिरुवेंगडभट्टगे वृत्ति =. ओट्टु वृत्ति इप्पत्तुनाल्लु. वृत्ति
ओंदक्के काणि हत्तु. ओट्टु इन्नूरनलवत्तु काणियागि माडिसल्पट्टितु.
महामायाप्रीतियागि ईचेट्टुपेडेव अग्रहारवन्नु अष्टभोगस्वाम्यसहि
तवागि सर्वमान्य अग्रहारवागि कोट्टेवागि सुखदिं भोगिसूदु.

॥ श्री विश्वपतये नमः ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Sanskrit Text.)

Salutation to the revered Ganādhpati !

There lived in the house of the king Bukka, *Śrīśimhasūri* of the Harita family, a man of renowned reputation ; even the parrots which were in the cages at the doors of this house were fond of the sport of attempting to break the rules of all sciences. His renowned son *Viṣṇuyajvā* was like him eminent in the most divine qualities, a scholar in tarka, a commentator famous throughout the world. This wise man

caused sixteen great gifts to be made by the king *Harīharēndra*, the brilliant glory of whose fame was white like a necklace of pearls. From him was born *Hampanārya*, an expert in all sciences, like *Vasiṣṭha*, and in virtues like another *Vyāsa*.

He repeatedly caused to be made great grants and (presents of) villages by the king *Harīhara* and the prince *Dēvarāya*. The son of *Hampanārya*, *Tārkika*, renowned in tarka, imitated his forefathers in wisdom and modesty. He is every day causing the king *Dēvarāya* to do righteousness, pleasing the king by his own virtues, which shine by modesty. Being its owner he gave to the Brāhmans this village *Cettupēḍu*, which had been given to his father by the king *Vijayarāya*.

Kanarese Text.

The deed of gift executed at the auspicious time of the 12th day of the bright fortnight in (the month of) *Kārttika* in the current year *Viśvāvasu*, which corresponds to the Śaka year 1348, by the logician, the famous *Ayyagalu*, the son of the logician *Hampanaiya*, who was versed in all the branches of learning, is as follows :—

In honor of the son of *Hampanācārya*, who has legalized the gift by pouring out water, we have converted into an *Agrahāram*, containing 24 *Inām* lands, the village of *Cettupēḍu* which had been granted by the *Mahārāja Vijaya Rāya* at the auspicious time of the 12th day of the bright fortnight in *Kārttika*, in the year *Viśvāvasu*, to our father *Hampanaiya* as a freehold village in the province of *Paḍabīḍu*, and we have handed over the same to Brāhmans belonging to various *gōtras* and different *sūtras*.

This is the description of the names, *gōtras* and *sūtras* of the Brāhmans holding these *Inām* lands.

2 *Inām* lands measuring ten *kānis* granted by *Hampanārya* to Śrīnivāsa of *Gargagōtra* and *Āpastambasūtra*.

- 1 Inām land measuring ten kāṇis granted by *Hampaṇārya*
to *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*, one of their descendants.
- 2 „ to *Rāyikōḍu Sōmayāṇi* of Vādhūlagōtra and
Āpastambasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Sahasranāmabhaṭṭa* of Vatsagōtra and
Āpastambasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Sanṇambādi Dēvaṇṇa* of Śākātāyana-
gōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Varadanārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* of Śaṭhamarṣaṇa-
gōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Hastigirinātha*, son of Varadanārāyaṇa-
bhaṭṭa granted on the holy day of Dvādaśi.
- 2 „ to *Dēvaperumāl* of the same gōtra and sūtra.
- 1 „ to *Yajvabhārati* of Vatsagōtra and Āpastam-
basūtra.
- 1 „ to *Jērāmbhaṭṭa* of Bhāradvājagōtra and
Āpastambasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Anantabhaṭṭa* of Bhāradvājagōtra and
Āpastambasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* of Vādhūlagōtra and
Āpastambasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Śrīdharabhaṭṭa* of Kuṇḍinagōtra and
Bōdhāyanasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Yādavagirīśvara* of Bhāradvājagōtra and
Āpastambasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Subrahmaṇyapaṇḍita* of Āsūrigōtra and
Āpastambasūtra.
- $\frac{1}{2}$ „ to *Bhāradēvayya* of Vatsagōtra and Āpastam-
basūtra.
- $\frac{3}{4}$ „ to *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* of Nidhravakāśyapagōtra
and Āpastambasūtra.
- $\frac{3}{4}$ „ to *Anantabhaṭṭa* of Ātrēyagōtra and Āpas-
tambasūtra.
- $\frac{1}{2}$ „ to *Bākkaperumāl* of Vādhūlagōtra and Āpas-
tambasūtra.

- $\frac{1}{2}$ Inām land measuring ten kāṇis granted by *Hampanārya* to *Bhūtiviṣṇubhaṭṭa* of Vatsagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
- 1 „ to *Śrīdharabhaṭṭa* of Gargagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
- $\frac{1}{2}$ „ to *Tōj'appa* of the same gōtra and sūtra.
- $\frac{1}{2}$ „ to *Bhadranārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* of the same gōtra and sūtra.
- $\frac{1}{2}$ „ to *Nārāyaṇa* of Kuṇḍinagōtra and Āpastambasūtra.
- $\frac{1}{2}$ „ to *Tiruvēṅgaḍabhaṭṭa* of the same gōtra and sūtra.

The number of Inām-lands is 24 in all, each containing ten kāṇis, the total made up being 240 kāṇis. The village of *Cettupēḍu* which, with its eight enjoyable possessions is granted as a freehold village in honor of Mahāmāyā, is to be enjoyed with pleasure.

Bow to ŚRĪ VIŚVAPATI.

HISTORICAL REMARKS ON THE TWO NĀGARĪ INSCRIPTIONS AND ON THE LINE OF KINGS OF VIJAYANAGARAM.

The Telugu princely family which is mentioned in the two Nāgarī inscriptions is the Kuruba dynasty of Vijayanagaram, of which Saṅgama is the reputed ancestor, while its origin is traced to Yadu and eventually to Candra, the moon. In the inscriptions occur the names of *Saṅgama*, of *Bukka* and *Gaurāmbikā*, of *Harihara*, of *Pratāpadēvarāya* and *Hēmāmbikā*, of *Vijayarāya*, and of *Dēvarāya*. The name of *Dēvarāya* occurs twice in the text of the second śāsanam ; but while the *Dēvarāya* mentioned in the first place appears to be identical with *Pratāpadēvarāya*, yet, where the same name occurs again, it must refer to another person, for *Dēvarāya* is called a reigning king nine years after *Vijaya*, the son of the above-mentioned *Pratāpadēvarāya*, had granted the first gift.

The first grant was executed on the 7th of the dark fort-

night of the month of Bhādrapada in the Durmukhi year, after the 1338th year of the Śaka had expired, or on Monday, the 14th of September 1416 A.D. (Old Style). In it the king Vijayarāya made over to *Hampanārya*, the son of *Tārki-kācārya* (also called *Viṣṇuyajvā*), and grandson of the famous *Śrīsimhasūri*, a contemporary of King Bukka, the village of *Cettupēḍu* in *Paḍaviḍu* with its surroundings.

In the second inscription (which dates from the 12th of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, in the year Viśvāvasu, the 1348th of the Śaka,¹ or from Wednesday, the 24th of October 1425 A.D., Old Style) *Ayyalu* or *Tārki*, the son of *Hampanārya*, gave *Cettupēḍu*, with its appurtenances, as freehold property to certain Brāhmins as specified.

Paḍabīḍu, or in its modern form *Halēbīḍu*, was the old residence of the Hoysala kings. The country of *Paḍabīḍu* therefore refers to the realm formerly subject to the Ballāḷa kings. *Tagara* and *Āgara* are probably the *Tagara* in Koimbatore and the *Āgara* of Yelavandūr in Mysore. Some of the names of the other places are still found in their neighbourhood. *Cettupēḍu* would therefore lie in the mountainous tract south of the Kāvērī.

With respect to the lists of kings of Vijayanagaram, it must be admitted at once that a great confusion prevails. Manuscript records and inscriptions on stone or copper are often entirely at variance with each other. Under these circumstances it is extremely difficult to arrange satisfactorily, according to chronological order, the succession of these rulers. I trust that the Archæological survey lately instituted in this Presidency will obtain from the newly-collected inscriptions sufficiently trustworthy information to unveil the mystery which still covers this portion of Indian history.

¹ It ought to have been 1347; the figure 8 is most likely a mistake of the engraver. The year of the Brhaspati-cycle can be generally accepted as correct. *Paḍaviḍu* occurs in Rice's Mysore Inscriptions, p. 269. In old Kanarese *p* remains unchanged; *paḍa* corresponds to the Tamil *paḍa* (படி). See p. 13.

As the matter now stands lists of the kings of Vijayanagaram have been published by Horace Hayman Wilson both in his Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection² and in the 20th Volume of the Asiatic Researches,³ by F. C. Ravenshaw in the same volume,⁴ by A. C. Campbell in the introduction to his Telugu Grammar,⁵ and by Dr. Buchanan in his Journey from Madras.⁶ With these I have compared an original list composed towards the end of the seventeenth century by Kṛṣṇasvāmī Pillai,⁷ the Karnum of Candragiri, and some other lists contained in the Local Records.

Though most of the lists taken from manuscript records give also the years of accession and termination of the different kings, yet much credit cannot be attached to these dates. Most of these lists have been prepared in comparatively recent times, and in consequence while they are pretty correct about more modern events, they otherwise often contain some manifest mistakes. The principal cause of the inaccuracy with respect to earlier dates seems to be the manner in which they were fixed. Starting from a comparatively modern date, the first year in the lists was found by subtracting gradually from this modern date the reputed length of the respective reigns of the different kings, and the initial date of the first reign, which ought to have been the *terminus a quo*, is thus the result of backward calculation or the *terminus ad quem*.⁸ Otherwise it is impossible to account, *e.g.*, for the differences prevailing as to the

² See Calcutta edition, 1828, pp. 292, 293.

³ See Asiatic Researches, vol. XX, p. 7.

⁴ See *ibidem*, Pedigree of the Kings of Vijayanagar, pp. 18, 19.

⁵ See p. xii in the fourth edition.—Dr. Burnell appears to have, in his *Elements of South-Indian Palæography*, Second Edition, pp. 54, 55, closely followed Campbell's list.

⁶ See *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, second edition, 1870, pp. 283-288 and p. 535.

⁷ See *Mahratta Kyfeat*, No. 45.

⁸ A similar practice was adopted in fixing the first year of the Dionysian Æra, as shown by me in my monograph on the origin of the Christian Æra: London, 1876.

year of accession of the first Bukka. Horace H. Wilson fixes it, according to manuscript records, at 1313 A.D. or 1235 Ś.Ś., the Kyfeat mentions 1236 Ś.Ś., Campbell gives 1272 Ś.Ś. or 1350 A.D., Buchanan dates it in one place⁹ from 1295 Ś.Ś. or 1372-73 A.D., while in another place¹⁰ it must be 1217 A.D., as, according to the text, 293 years have elapsed between 1510 A.D. and the accession of Bukka. This latter instance is a clear proof in favor of our conjecture respecting the mode of fixing the dates of the reigns, as the *Permatur* (properly *Śrī Perumbūdūr*) list contains no dates, but only gives the length of the reigns.

The inscriptions, on the other hand, fix the reign of Bukka between 1350-80.

Below we now arrange side by side, for the sake of comparison, some of the most important lists of the kings of Vijayanagaram :—

Names of Kings.	Length of Reign according to			Names of Kings.	Length of Reign according to Campbell.
	Buchanan.	Wilson.	Kyfeat.		
	YS.	YS.	YS. M. D.		YS. M. D.
Bukka	14	14	14 0 0	Harihara	14 0 0
Harihara ¹¹	14	14	14 0 0	Bukka	29 8 0
Vijaya	13	13	13 0 0	Harihara	22 0 0
Viśvadēva ¹²	8	8	8 0 0	Vijaya Bukka	17 0 0
Rāmadēva	7	7	7 0 0	Palla Bukka	16 0 0
Virūpakṣa	5	5	5 0 0	Gaṇḍa Dēva	20 0 0
Mallikārjuna	7	7	7 0 0	Rajasekhara	0 9 0
Rāmacandra	9	9	9 0 0	Vijaya	0 10 0
Saluvagaṇḍa I	14	7	9 0 0	Pradhā or Pratāpa Dēva.	21 0 0
Dēvarāya	15	15	15 0 0		

⁹ See vol. ii, p. 234.

¹⁰ See *ibidem*, p. 535. Wilson's Descriptive Catalogue I, p. 289, remarks "The *Permatur* list makes the first date A.D. 1215."

¹¹ In Buchanan's list Vijaya is evidently by mistake placed before Harihara.

¹² Buchanan has *Kassi Deva*; Local Records, Vol. LI, p. 230, in the Mackenzie Collection reads *Kassidēva* (கச்சி தேவ), otherwise it agrees throughout with Wilson; and the Kyfeat has *Gabhya Dēva*.

Names of Kings.	Length of Reign according to			Names of Kings.	Length of Reign according to Campbell.
	Buchanan.	Wilson.	Kyfeat.		
	YS.	YS.	YS. M. D.		YS. M. D.
Kambaya ¹³ ..	5	5	5 0 0	Vira Rāya ..	4 0 0
Kumāra Kumbaya ..	4	4	4 0 0	Mallikārjuna ..	6 0 0
Saluvagāṇḍa II ..	6	7	7 0 0	Rāmacandra ..	1 0 0
Saluva Narasiṅga ..	40	49	49 0 0	Virūpakṣa ..	2 0 0
Immadi Dēva ..	11	11	11 0 0	Narasiṅga ..	5 0 0
Praudha Dēva ¹⁴ ..	30	..	..	Narasa ..	13 0 0
Rāmacandra ..	18	..	..	(of which five in the name of his son)	
Vaikunṭha ..	19	..	..	Vira Narasiṅga ..	..
Dāmōdara ..	6	..	..	Kṛṣṇa Rāya ..	21 0 0
Narasiṅga ..	16	..	..	Acyuta ..	12 0 0
Vira Narasiṅga ..	11	21	21 0 0	(Salka Timma Rāya)	
Kṛṣṇa Rāya ..	21	20	20 3 8	Rāma Rāya ..	22 0 0
Acyuta ..	13	13	12 6 4	Interregnum ..	5 0 0
Sadasiva, or Rāma				Tirumala ..	0 11 0
Raja in his name ..	22	22	22 1 12	Śriraṅga ..	14 0 0
Tirumala ..	8	8	8 0 0	Veṅkaṭapati ..	28 8 15
Śriraṅga I ..	14	14	13 5 0	Cicka Rāya ..	0 4 0
Veṅkaṭapati ..	29	29	28 10 0	Ramarāya or Rāma-dēva ..	15 5 0
Śriraṅga II ..	..	13	0 0 13		
Veṅkaṭarāja ..	..	8	8 8 0		
Rāmadēva ..	15	7	7 0 0		
Ānēgundi Veṅkaṭapati ..	12	12	12 0 0		
Śriraṅga III ..	5	10	10 0 0		

Dr. Buchanan's list closes with the year 1646 A.D., Wilson's with 1665 A.D., the Kyfeat with 1574 Ś.Ś. or 1652-53 A.D., and Campbell with 1552 Ś.Ś. or 1630 A.D.

It remains for us now to complete these lists by adding to them extracts from other lists contained in Ravenshaw, Buchanan and the Local Records. The Śaka year indicates the commencement of each reign.

¹³ Wilson has Kumbhaya, which is a name of Śiva, while Kambaya is supposed to be another appellation for Narasiṅha.

¹⁴ These five reigns are omitted in the lists of Wilson and the Kyfeat, and this addition explains the abnormal length of Buchanan's list.

Lists of Kings according to					
Ravenshaw. ¹⁵		Local Records XLVI. 64, 65, 261, 262 and 265, 265.		Buchanan. ¹⁶	
	ŚAKA.		ŚAKA.		ŚAKA.
Bukka Rāya ..	1256	Bukkanna	1258	Harihara	1273
Harihara Rao ..	1289	Harihara	1289	Buca	1295
Dēva Rao	1313	Praudha Dēva ..	1313	Harihara	1326
Vijaya Rao	1336	Vijaya Rāja	1336	Virapaksha Rāja ..	1330
Pundara Deva Rau ..	1346	Praudha Dēva ..	1346	Buca Rāja	1331
Ramchandra Rao ..	1372	Rāmacandra	1372	Deva Rāja and ..	1338
Sri Rānga Rāja being king of Kalyānpatan, made war upon Ramchandra, and, deposing him, placed on the musnad his own brother		Virūpākṣa	1386	Rama Rāja	
Narasinha Rāja ..	1395	Narasinha	1395	Virapaksha Rāja ..	1349
Vira Narasinha Rāja	1412	Vira Narasinha dēva	1412	Deva Rāja and ..	1377
				Virapaksha Rāja ..	
				Maruppa Rāja ..	1381
				Rama Rāja and ..	1408
				Virapaksha Rāja ..	
				Prouwuda Rāja ..	1420
				Vira Narasingha ..	1430
				Rāja	

From the inscriptions we obtain, according to Wilson,¹⁷ the following results:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Bukka (A.D. 1370-1381). | 8. Achyuta (A.D. 1530-1542). |
| 2. Harihara (A.D. 1385-1429). | 9. Sadasiva (A.D. 1542-1570). |
| 3. Deva Rāja (A.D. 1426-1458). | 10. Rāma Rāja (A.D. 1547-1562). |
| 4. Mallikārjuna (A.D. 1451-1465). | 11. Trimala (A.D. 1560-1571). |
| 5. Virūpākṣa (A.D. 1473-1479). | 12. Sriranga (A.D. 1574-1584). |
| 6. Narasinha (A.D. 1487-1508). | 13. Venkatapati (A.D. 1587-1608). |
| 7. Krishna (A.D. 1508-1530). | 14. Virārāma (A.D. 1622-1626). |

The principal question now before us is whether we are able to adjust somewhat these discrepant statements. Following as authority our two śāsanams, we cannot but decide that in all probability the succession of the earlier kings was as follows: first Bukka¹⁸ (this is not contradictory to Bukka having succeeded his elder brother Harihara), then Harihara, Pratāpadēva or Praudha Dēva, Vijaya, and Dēvarāya or Pratāparudra. The years of the śāsanams—1338 Ś.S. and 1348 Ś.Ś., or 1416 and 1425 A.D.—agree with those of the reigns of Vijaya and Dēvarāya according to the lists of Ravenshaw and of the Local Records.

¹⁵ Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, pp. 18, 19.

¹⁶ See vol. ii, p. 284.

¹⁷ See Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, p. 7.

¹⁸ Bukka had four brothers—Harihara, Śambara, Marāpaha and Muttappa.

After the reign of these Kuruba princes the power of this dynasty seems to have gradually decreased, the empire split into parts, and rival kings established an independent rule. All the information at our disposal points to such a state of anarchy prevailing at the end of the Kuruba power up to the time that the Tuluva prince Narasimha or Narasa obtained, through his statesmanship and bravery, the kingdom of Vijayanagaram.

In the first three lists, and especially in that of Buchanan,¹⁹ some of those rival princes are given as successive rulers, while they should have figured as contemporaries.

On page 61 we see that to Śāluva Narasimha are ascribed 49 years by Wilson and by the compiler of the Kyfeat. It is very probable that he is identical with the Narasinga in Campbell's list, where he is only credited with 5 years. Considering that numerals which indicated months or days have been occasionally counted as years, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Śrīraṅga II, who ruled only 13 days instead of 13 years, it is not unlikely that instead of 49 years, 49 months or 4 years ought to be read. This reduction of 45 years would at once fix the year of Bukka's accession to about 1358 A.D. in concordance with the inscriptions. The accuracy or inaccuracy of these lists with respect to the other kings, their order of succession, and the time ascribed to their reigns remains an open question.

In the lists the name Śāluva is of frequent occurrence. I regard it as a mere title equivalent to *Vīra* or *Śimha*. Virabhadra, the son of Śiva, defeated in the Śarabha avatāra Viṣṇu, who had assumed the shape of Narasimha. The fight took place near Śrīśaila in the Telugu country.²⁰

¹⁹ See pp. 60, 61.

²⁰ A Śarabha or Saluva, a fabulous creature with a human trunk, six feet, two lion faces each with two beaks, with arms and sidearms, and two wings, is often found in the escutcheons of Native princes.

Salva is moreover the name of an Asura slain by Viṣṇu, it designates also a country and its inhabitants.

The Kurubas were at length succeeded by the dynasty founded by Narasiṃha. According to Ravenshaw the Narapati prince Śrīraṅgarāja of Kalyāṇa deposed Rāmacandra and installed his brother Narasiṃha on the throne of Vijayanagaram. This is no impossibility. Though our pedigree of the Narapatis does not contain a Śrīraṅga who had a brother Narasiṃha, there may have been existing a Śrīraṅga who had a near relation of this name. Our pedigree concerns more the family of Kōdaṇḍarāma, better known as Rāma Rāja, and the other branches of the Narapati dynasty are not so accurately given owing to the present defective state of our information.²¹ On the other hand, if Narasiṃha, the founder of the new line of kings, was a scion of the Narapati family, a new light is thrown on the history of the later Rājas of Vijayanagaram. For this assumption of relationship, if true, explains to a great extent the influential position which the Narapati prince *Kōdaṇḍa Rāma* gained at a subsequent period in Ānēgundi.

According to the *Manucaritram* the Tuluva prince *Timmarāja* married Dēvakidēvi, and had by her a son *Īśvararāja* who married Bukkamāmbā.²² In the *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* *Īśvararāja* is reported to have defeated the Yavanas of Beḍadakōṭa near Kandukūru. *Īśvararāja* and Bukkamāmbā had two sons, *Narasiṃharāja*²³ and *Timmarāja*. The former

²¹ It may perhaps have been Śrīraṅgarāja, the grandson of Tirumalarāja, the brother of Rāma Rāja. Narasiṃha is called the head of the Narapatis, and Kṛṣṇa Rāja is often mentioned as Narapati Kṛṣṇa Rāja. If the Rājas of Vijayanagaram did not possess previously to the accession of Narasiṃha the title *Narapati*, it is easily explained why they were afterwards called Narapatis, as they belonged to the family of the Narapatis.

²² The *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* names Lakkāmba as the wife of *Īśvararāja* and *Narasarāja* as their son.

²³ In the lists occurs (p. 61) *Immaḍi Dēva* (or *Immaḍi Dharma*) between *Narasiṃha* (or *Sāluva Narasiṃha*) and *Vira Narasiṃha*. As *Narasiṃha*, the father of *Vira Narasiṃha*, is said to have reigned twice, at first for himself and the second time for a while for his son *Vira Narasiṃha*, as *Immaḍi* (ఇమ్మడి) means twice, and as this word as well as *Mummaḍi* (ముమ్మడి), thrice, is used in names (e.g., the *Tātācāryas* have the name *Immaḍi*, for they get twice *tāmbūlam* before other *Brahmans* when at the court of *Rajas*), I

captured Vidyāpura and resided eventually at Vijayanagaram. He had two wives; by his legitimate queen *Timmāmba* he had a son *Vīra Narsimharāja*, while by his other wife *Nāgamāmba* he became the father of the famous *Kṛṣṇa Rāja*.

The degree of relationship which existed between *Kṛṣṇa Rāja*, *Acyuta Rāja*, and *Sadāśiva Rāja* is not quite clear, the statements on this point being contradictory.

That some relationship besides connection by marriage existed between *Kṛṣṇa Rāja* and *Sadāśiva Rāja* on the one side and *Rāmarāja* on the other must be admitted. Though generally regarded as the son-in-law of *Kṛṣṇa Rāja*, he is often also called the son-in-law of *Sadāśiva Rāja*. At all events he reigned in the name of the latter, leaving him nothing but the name of sovereign. He is often described as the *Aliya Rāma Rāja*.²⁴ After his death his brother *Tirumala Rāja* established himself at *Penugonḍa*, leaving the throne eventually to his son *Śrīraṅga Rāja*. *Veṅkaṭapati Rāja* succeeded in firmly establishing for some years his power in *Penugonḍa*, *Candragiri* and its neighbourhood, but he never recovered the influence of the former kings of *Vijayanagaram*.

believe that this word *Immaḍi* alludes to the second administration of *Narasa*, who may have kept up his own *Tuluva* court. On page 53 in the XLVII Volume of the Local Records the last *Praudharāya* of *Vijayanagaram* is called *Mummaḍi Praudharāyalu* (ముమ్మడి ప్రౌఢరాయలు), where the meaning of ముమ్మడి corresponds to that of ఇమ్మడి in *Immaḍi Dēva*.

²⁴ About *Rāma Rāja* see p. 41—44. Compare *The Wars of the Rājas* by Charles Philip Brown, p. 3. "His (*Krishna Rayalu's*) wives were two, named *Chinna Devi* and *Tirumala Devi*. As they had only female children, *Tirumala Devi's* daughter was married to *Rama Rayalu*, and *Chinna Devi's* daughter was given in marriage to his younger brother *Tirumala Rayalu*. Then these ladies (the queens dowager) proposed to crown *Rama Raya* as 'Son-in-law Regnant,' (lit. they conferred the *Aliyapattam*; *Aliya* in *Kannadi* signifying a son-in-law)." In the Local Records, Vol. XLVII, p. 65, *Kṛṣṇa Raya's* daughter is called *Tirumalamba*, and her husband *Alē Rāma Raya*. (ఇతని కొమార్తె తిరుమలాంబ. యీతిరుమలాయన పెనిమిటి అళే రాయలు) *Alē* corresponds to the *Telugu* *alluḍu* (అల్లుడు). One of the wives of *Kṛṣṇa Rāja* was the daughter of the *Rāja* of *Kaṭāk*.

After him the decline became more marked, till the princes at Candragiri succumbed to the king of Golconda.

The present chief of the Narapati family is the Pālegār of Ānēgundi *Narasimha Rāya*, a great-grandson of *Tirumala Rāya*, to whom *from motives of humanity and policy and not as a matter of right* was granted a pension in 1801, which in 1807 was fixed at Rs. 1,377-11-4 per mensem.²⁵

The following succession list will, on the whole, be correct:—

	A.D.	Y.	M.	D.
Vira Narasimha	1488-1509	21	0	0
Kṛṣṇa	1509-1530	20	3	8
Acyuta	1530-1542	12	6	4
Sadaśiva, ²⁶ in his name reigns	1542-1564	21	1	12
Rama Rāja.				
Tirumala, Rama's brother.. ..	1564-1572	8	0	0

²⁵ Ravenshaw gives in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, p. 19, the successors of Śrī Raṅga Rao, but his account is evidently not quite correct. These successors are "Venkatapati, Rāma Rao, Haridas (1693), Chak Dās (his brother) 1704, Chinna Dās (1721), Rāma Rāya (1734), Gopāl Rao, son of Chak Dās, Venkatapati (1741), Trimala Rao (1756), Vira Venkatapati Rāma Rāya, 31st May 1829." The *Local Records*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 66, 67, mention as Śrīraṅgarāja's successors Venkatapati, Rāma Rāya, Tirumala, his son Rāma Rāya, his son Gopāla Rāya, his son Vira Venkatapati Rāya, Veṅgaṇayya, Cinnarāya, Rāma Rāya, Cinnadāsarāya, Hiredāsarāya and Rāma Rāya.

Ravenshaw says that Vira Venkatapati Rāma Rāya died a minor on the 31st May 1829, "and there being no heir, the *jāgīr*, I understand, has lapsed to the Nizam's Government, and the pension of 1,500 rupees per mensem to the Company." According to the Proceedings of the Madras Government, Revenue Department, 19th November 1872, Tirumala Rāya, the father of Vira Venkatapati, died in 1824 and the latter died unmarried in 1831. At the time of his death no male descendant of Tirumala Rāya, it seems, existed, but Tirumala Rāya's elder son, who had died before his father, had left a daughter, and this daughter had a son Tirumala Devarāyalu, who eventually succeeded. His two sons Venkaṭarāma Rāyalu and Kṛṣṇa Devarāyalu succeeded him respectively in 1866 and 1871. The latter died childless in 1872, and was succeeded by his cousin Narasimha Rāya, the son of Lakṣmī Devamma, the sister of his father Tirumala Devarāyalu.

I am indebted for this information to the kindness of the Hon. D. F. Carmichael, Senior Member of the Madras Council.

²⁶ In Campbell's list Sadaśiva's name is omitted, and Salka Timma Rāya mentioned as the immediate successor of Acyuta. He was the uncle, *e.g.*, the *Salka* (see p. 30), of the young prince and usurped for a time the throne.

	A.D.	Y.	M.	D.
Śrīraṅga I, Tirumala's son ..	1572-1585	13	5	0
Veṅkaṭapati	1585-1615	28	10	0
Śrīraṅga II ²⁷	1615	0	0	13
Veṅkaṭapati	1615-1624	8	8	0
Ramadeva	1624-1631	7	0	0
Ānēgundi Veṅkaṭapati ²⁸ ..	1631-1643	12	0	0
Śrīraṅga ²⁸	1653			

It is this Śrīraṅga who in 1639 granted to Mr. Francis Day, the English negotiator, the settlement at Madras. He must have been therefore already at that time the reigning Rāja in Candragiri.²⁸ After his overthrow the Narapatis retained only Ānēgundi, but the subsequent history of the Narapati princes is of no general interest.

The genealogical table which accompanies this article shows only the pedigree of the Narapatis up to about 1564 as contained in the Narapativijayam.

APPENDIX.

In all the South Indian inscriptions and manuscript records which refer to historical events the dates are generally specified by the current years of the cycle of Brhaspati, by the years of the Śalivāhana Śaka, by the years of the Kaliyuga, or by other eras in use in various parts of the country. The three first computations are the most important, and it is therefore quite *à propos* of this investigation that something may here be stated about them.

Though the Brhaspati cycle was probably introduced into India later than the other two eras, it has in the last 900 years taken such a hold on the mind of the Hindus that nearly all their computations contain the years of this cycle. It is learnt by heart by children and not forgotten by them during their lifetime. Wherever, therefore, the year of the cycle disagrees with the year of either the Śaka or the Kali-

²⁷ Wilson gives thirteen years instead of thirteen days to Śrī Raṅga II.

²⁸ I am doubtful whether Ānēgundi Veṅkaṭapati and Śrī Raṅga did not rule at the same time. Nārāyaṇavana is given as Ānēgundi Veṅkaṭapati's place of residence, it is therefore very probable that during his reign Śrī Raṅga resided already at Candragiri.

yuga, preference ought to be given to the former. In most inscriptions and deeds the expired year (*gatābda*) of Śālivāhana or of the Kaliyuga is given simultaneously with the current year of the cycle of Brhaspati. As these three years of the Brhaspati cycle, of Śālivāhana, and of the Kaliyuga coincide practically in their duration, their computation seems to be very easy ; but the peculiar habit indicated has been the cause of many errors. An example will enable the reader to readily understand this mode of reckoning. The present year, 1882-3, corresponds to Citrabhānu, 1805 Śaka, 4984 Kaliyuga, but in inscriptions and documents it is called 1804 Śaka, 4983 Kaliyuga. A Prussian document would afford an analogous instance if in it this year 1882 were designated as 1881 A.D., the 23 of Wilhelm I (the present king succeeding to the throne early in January 1860) ; 1881 A.D. taking the place of the year of the Śaka, and 23 the number of the year in the sixty years' cycle.

Colonel Warren has fully explained in his work *Kālasaṅkhalita*²⁹ the intricacies of Indian chronology, which he had thoroughly mastered. In his chronological tables which he published in his work he printed at the head of the columns containing the eras of the Kaliyuga and Śālivāhana the word expired, intimating by this way the custom which the Hindus followed of writing down the expired year and not the current.

It was very unfortunate that Colonel Warren adopted this method, which was not necessary, as a note intimating the custom would have answered the purpose as well. For by this arrangement years which are not synchronous with each other may be mistaken as such. If the current Śaka and Kaliyuga years had been printed together with the Brhaspati years, an attentive reader would have quickly deducted one year from the current Śaka or Kaliyuga year in order to

²⁹ A Collection of Memoirs on the various modes according to which the Nations of the southern parts of India divide Time. By Lieutenant-Colonel John Warren : Madras, 1825.

verify the correctness of the date of the inscription. A peculiar mode of notation, however widely spread, should never be made a cause for distorting actual facts.

Unluckily, in this case Warren's well-meant but injudicious caution was to a certain extent the cause of all the inaccuracies to be met with in subsequent works on Indian chronology and history, some of which were published with the intention of rectifying dates.

For Prinsep, who followed in the footsteps of Warren, though well aware of this peculiarity,³⁰ omitted to reprint the word *expired* at the head of the columns containing the years of the Kaliyuga and the Saka. Moreover, Prinsep's note on this subject is not accurate throughout, as we read in it:—

“It should be borne in mind, that the natives, in speaking or writing a date in simple years, always express the number of years *expired*, not the current year, as is the custom in Europe. When they mention the month, therefore, they mean the month of the following current year; but as the numerical denomination of the Hindū year remains unchanged throughout it, no thought need be taken of the distinction of *expired* years unless where a calculation has to be made from an initial epoch. In common parlance they may be treated like the current years of any other system, as being more consonant with our ideas, and less liable to cause mistakes in transferring dates to and fro.”

Wherever the Brhaspati cycle is in use, the month given belongs to the year of that cycle, and not to the Saka or Kaliyuga year. As a matter of fact the Hindus use in common life always the current year, and seem only to deviate from this custom when adding to it the expired Saka and Kaliyuga year, which, being a matter of the past, is represented by a cardinal and not by an ordinal numeral. In the same manner a person when asked how old he is, uses either the cardinal numeral when stating the exact number of years he has already lived (e.g., I am twenty years old), or he employs the ordinal, saying: I am in my twenty-first year.

³⁰ See James Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, edited by Edward Thomas, pp. 163, 179, 180 and 201-212.

How Prinsep could say "no thought need be taken of the distinction of *expired years*" seems rather peculiar when it becomes known that all those who adopted his lists in the belief that they represented the actuals mistook the expired for current years, and, representing them as such in their writings, perpetrated an error which is still prevailing. This incorrectness disfigures C. P. Brown's *Cyclic Tables and Ephemerides*; it pervades the *Chronology of Cowasjee Patell*; and it is to our regret even to be met with in the *Chronological Tables* lately published in Madras.

As, moreover, the spelling in most cases is erroneous, the sixty years of the Brhaspati cycle will be printed below (the Sanskrit name being printed in its undeclensional form in Roman characters, the South-Indian vernacular in Italic letters), together with the corresponding Śaka and Kaliyuga year, our common era following at the end.

Name of the Year.	Year of the Śalivahana Śaka.	Year of the Kaliyuga.	Year A.D.
1. Prabhava (<i>Prabhava</i>)	1790	4969	1867-1868
2. Vibhava (<i>Vibhava</i>)	1791	4970	1868-1869
3. Śukla (<i>Śukla</i>)	1792	4971	1869-1870
4. Pramōda (<i>Pramōdā</i>)	1793	4972	1870-1871
5. Prajapati (<i>Prajapatti</i>)	1794	4973	1871-1872
6. Aṅgiras (<i>Āṅgīrasa</i>)	1795	4974	1872-1873
7. Śrinukha (<i>Śrīnukha</i>)	1796	4975	1873-1874
8. Bhava (<i>Bhāva</i> , seldom <i>Bhava</i>) ..	1797	4976	1874-1875
9. Yuvan ³¹ (<i>Yuvā</i>)	1798	4977	1875-1876
10. Dhātṛ ³² (<i>Dhātṛ</i>)	1799	4978	1876-1877
11. Īśvara (<i>Īśvara</i>)	1800	4979	1877-1878
12. Bahudhānya (<i>Bahudhānya</i>) ..	1801	4980	1878-1879
13. Pramāthin ³³ (<i>Pramāthi</i>)	1802	4981	1879-1880
14. Vikrama (<i>Vikrama</i>)	1803	4982	1880-1881
15. Vṛṣa (<i>Vṛṣa</i> or <i>Vṛṣa</i>)	1804	4983	1881-1882
16. Citrabhānu (<i>Citrabhānu</i>) ..	1805	4984	1882-1883
17. Subhānu or Svabhānu (<i>Subhānu</i>)	1806	4985	1883-1884

³¹ Nom. sing. *Yuvā*.

³² Nom. sing. *Dhātṛ*.

³³ Nom. sing. *Pramāthi*. All the nouns in *in* take the nom. sing. in *ī*.

Name of the Year.	Year of the Sali- vāhana Saka.	Year of the Kali- yuga.	Year A.D.
18. Tārāṇa (<i>Tārāṇa</i>)	1807	4986	1884-1885
19. Pārthiva (<i>Pārthiva</i>)	1808	4987	1885-1886
20. Vyaya (<i>Vyaya</i>)	1809	4988	1886-1887
21. Sarvajit (<i>Sarpajit</i>)	1810	4989	1887-1888
22. Sarvadhari ³³ (<i>Sarvadhāri</i>) ..	1811	4990	1888-1889
23. Virōdhi ³³ (<i>Virōdhi</i>)	1812	4991	1889-1890
24. Vikṛti or -ta (<i>Vikṛti</i>)	1813	4992	1890-1891
25. Khara (<i>Khara</i>)	1814	4993	1891-1892
26. Nandana (<i>Nandana</i>)	1815	4994	1892-1893
27. Vijaya (<i>Vijaya</i>)	1816	4995	1893-1894
28. Jaya (<i>Jaya</i>)	1817	4996	1894-1895
29. Manmatha (<i>Manmatha</i>)	1818	4997	1895-1896
30. Durmukha (<i>Durmukhi</i>)	1819	4998	1896-1897
31. Hemalamba or -bin ³³ (<i>Hēvilambi</i>)	1820	4999	1897-1898
32. Vilamba or -bin ³³ (<i>Vilambi</i>) ..	1821	5000	1898-1899
33. Vikāri ³³ (<i>Vikāri</i>)	1822	5001	1899-1900
34. Śarvarin ³³ (<i>Śarvari</i>)	1823	5002	1900-1901
35. Plava (<i>Plava</i>)	1824	5003	1901-1902
36. Śubhakṛt (<i>Śubhakṛt</i>)	1825	5004	1902-1903
37. Śobhana or Śobhakṛt (<i>Śobhana</i> or <i>Śobhakṛt</i>).	1826	5005	1903-1904
38. Krōdhi ³³ (<i>Krōdhi</i>)	1827	5006	1904-1905
39. Viśvāvasu (<i>Viśvāvasu</i>)	1828	5007	1905-1906
40. Parābhava (<i>Parābhava</i>)	1829	5008	1906-1907
41. Plavaṅga (<i>Plavaṅga</i>)	1830	5009	1907-1908
42. Kilaka (<i>Kilaka</i>)	1831	5010	1908-1909
43. Saumya (<i>Saumya</i>)	1832	5011	1909-1910
44. Sādhārāṇa (<i>Sādhārāṇa</i>)	1833	5012	1910-1911
45. Virōdhakṛtor -dhikṛt (<i>Virōdhikṛt</i>)	1834	5013	1911-1912
46. Paridhavin ³³ (<i>Paridhāvi</i> or <i>Pari-</i> <i>dhāpi</i>).	1835	5014	1912-1913
47. Pramadin ³³ (<i>Pramāḍica</i>) ..	1836	5015	1913-1914
48. Ānanda (<i>Ānanda</i>)	1837	5016	1914-1915
49. Rakṣasa (<i>Rākṣasa</i>)	1838	5017	1915-1916
50. Anala or Nala (<i>Nala</i>)	1839	5018	1916-1917
51. Piṅgala (<i>Piṅgala</i>)	1840	5019	1917-1918

³³ Nom. sing. *Pramāthī*. All the nouns in *in* take the nom. sing. in *ī*.

Name of the Year.	Year of the Śāli-vāhana Saka.	Year of the Kali-yuga.	Year A.D.
52. Kalayukti or -ta (<i>Kālayukti</i>) ..	1841	5020	1918-1919
53. Siddhārtha or -thin ³³ (<i>Siddhārthi</i>)	1842	5021	1919-1920
54. Raudra (<i>Raudri</i>)	1843	5022	1920-1921
55. Durmati (<i>Durmati</i>)	1844	5023	1921-1922
56. Dundubhi (<i>Dundubhi</i>)	1845	5024	1922-1923
57. Rudhīrōdgārīn ³³ (<i>Rudhīrōdgārī</i>).	1846	5025	1923-1924
58. Raktākṣa or -kṣi or -kṣin ³³ (<i>Raktākṣi</i>).	1847	5026	1924-1925
59. Krōdhana (<i>Krōdhana</i>)	1848	5027	1925-1926
60. Kṣaya (<i>Akṣaya</i>)	1849	5028	1926-1927

These names seem to be of considerable antiquity. They are all mentioned in the 8th chapter of the *Brhatsamhitā*, and being well known are probably not enumerated in the *Sūryasiddhānta*. The names in current use in Southern India have most likely been derived from the following verses ascribed in Kamalakara's *Nirṇayasindhu* to the ancient astronomer Gārgya.

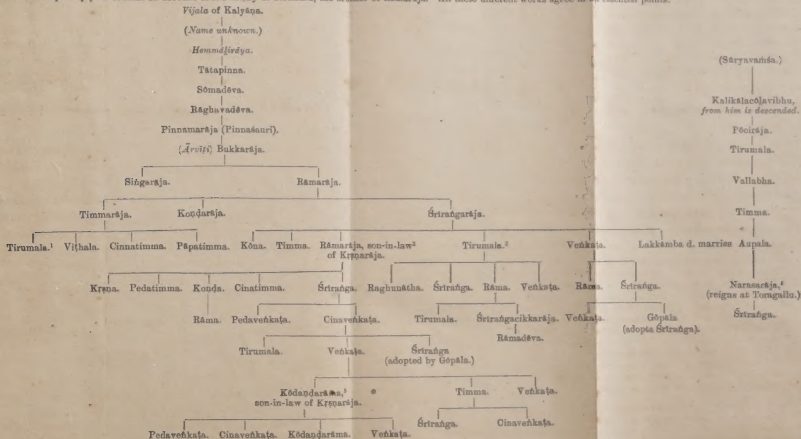
- Prabhavō Vibhavaś Śuklaḥ Pramōdō'tha Prajapatih
 Ņgirāś Śrīmukhō Bhāvō Yuva Dhātēśvarastatha
 Bahudhanyaḥ Pramāthi ca Vikramō'tha Vṣastatha
 Citrabhānuś Subhānuś ca Tāraṇaḥ Parthivō Vyayaḥ
 5. Sarvajit Sarvadhāri ca Virōdhi Vikṛtiḥ Kharah
 Nandanō Vijayaś caiva Jayō Manmathadumukhau
 Hēmalambō Vilambō'tha Vikāri Śarvāri Plavaḥ
 Śubhakṛcchōbhanaḥ Krōdhi Viśvāvasuparābhavau
 Plavaṅgaḥ Kilakas Saumyas Sadharanō Virōdhakṛt
 10. Paridhāvi Pramādi ca Ānando Rākṣaśō'nalah
 Piṅgalah Kālayuktaś ca Siddhārthi Raudradurmati
 Dundubhi Rudhīrōdgārī Raktākṣiḥ Krōdhanah Kṣayaḥ.³⁴

³³ Nom. sing. *Pramāthī*. All the nouns in *in* take the nom. sing. in *ī*.

³⁴ With respect to the names compare also *Agnipurāṇa*, Chapter 139, the *Jyōtiṣaratnamālā* and other similar works. Dr. Burnell, in the second edition of his *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, when referring to the list of the years of the cycle of Brhaspati, remarks as follows: "This list is not to be found in the Sanskrit treatises" (page 73, note 4), and "This list is compiled from Colonel Warren's *Kāla Cankalita*, Mr. C. P. Brown's cyclic tables, inscriptions and the practice of the people of Southern India. I am not aware that any old list exists" (page 74, note 2).—Another MS. reads in line 4 Svabhānuśca, in line 5 Vikṛtaḥ, in line 7 Hēmalambi, in line 9 Virōdhikṛt, and in line 11 Kālayuktīśca Siddhārthō Raudridurmati.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE NARAPATIS.

From Nartayana, Brahma, Atri, Candrar, Budha, Pururava, Ayu, Nahusa, Yayasti, Puru, &c., are descended the Bhāratas, and as the 33rd in descent from Arjuna is given in the Narapativijayam Nanda, his 9th descendant is *Cāṭukya* and from him is descended Vijala or Bijjala of Kalyāṇa. His grandson is Vira Hemmaṇḍīya; Hemmaṇḍīya's son is Tātapiṇṇa. The pedigree from Tātapiṇṇa to Bulka's son is the same in the Balabhagavatam, Vasucaritam, Narasabhapāliyam, and Narapativijayam. The Balabhagavatam alone contains the names of the 4 sons of Timmarāja, while only the Narapativijayam gives the later descendants of his cousin Rāmarāja. The Vasucaritam, Narasabhapāliyam as well as the Narapativijayam contain an account of the family of Tirumala, the brother of Rāmarāja. All these different works agree in all essential points.



¹ The Tirumala to whom is dedicated the Balabhagavatam of Kōṣarīnātha.

² The patron of Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa commonly called Bhaṭṭa Mūrti.

³ The Tirumala to whom is dedicated the Vasucaritam of Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa commonly called Bhaṭṭa Mūrti.

⁴ The Naras to whom is dedicated the Narasabhapāliyam of Saṅgaṇṭuri commonly called Bhaṭṭa Mūrti.

⁵ The Rāmarāja who was defeated at Talikāṭa in 1564 A.D., and who was up to now regarded as a patron of Bhaṭṭa Mūrti, the reputed author of the Vasucaritam and Narasabhapāliyam.

TRANSLITERATION OF SANSKRIT AND DRAVIDIAN WORDS.

Gutturals	..	..	k, kh, g, gh, ŋ, ḥ, h,	a, ā.
Palatals	..	..	c, ch, j, ḥ, ṣ, ś, ṣ,	i, ī, e, ē, ai.
Linguals	..	..	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṣ, ṣ(ṣ),	r, ṛ.
Dentals	..	..	t, th, d, dh, n, s, ṣ(ṣ),	l.
Labials	..	..	p, ph, b, bh, m, ḥ, v,	u, ū, o, ō, au.
Anusvāra	..	..	ṁ.	

Short *ṣ* and *o*, as well as *ṛ* and *l*, occur only in Dravidian words.



